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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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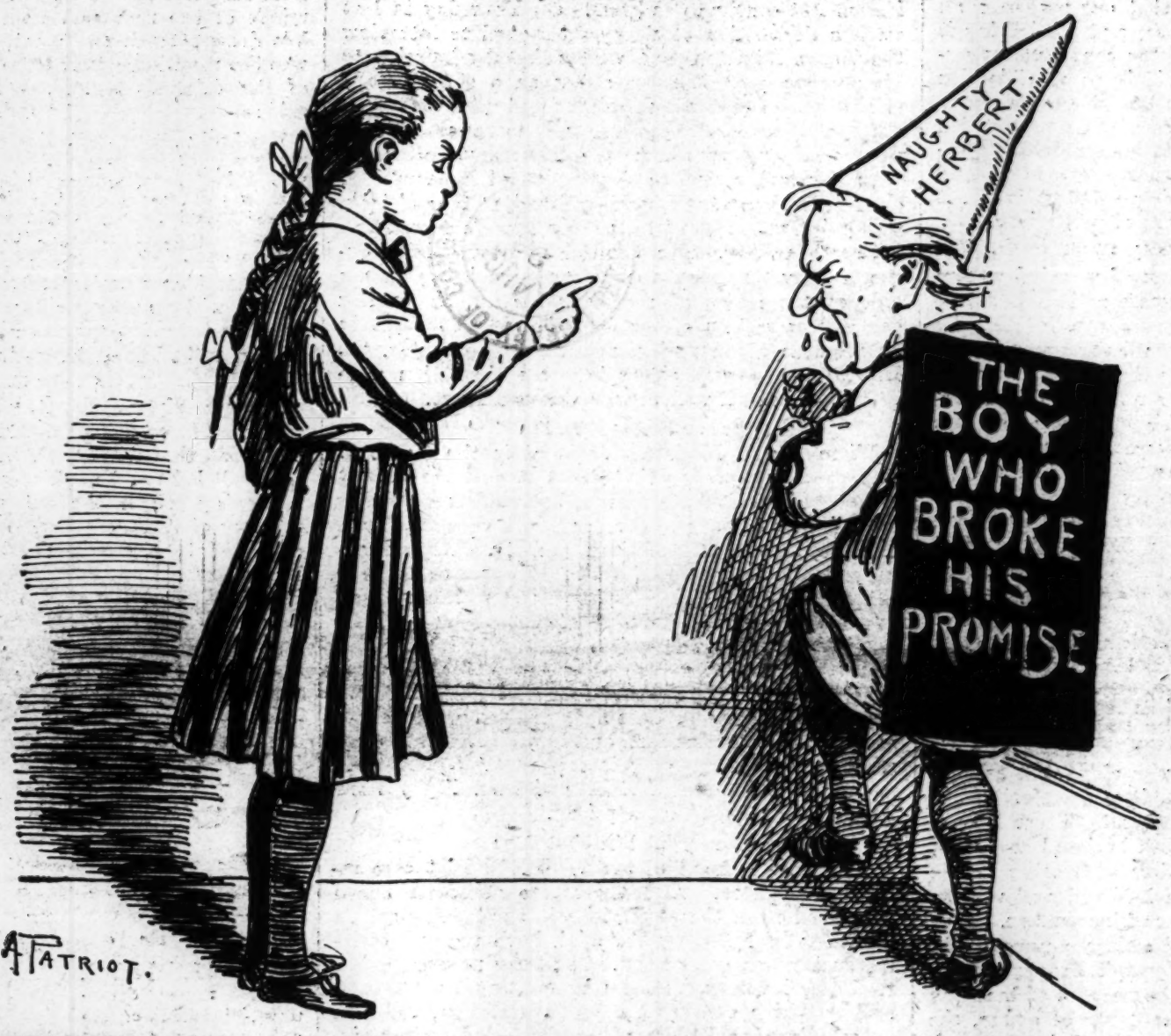
THE BOY WHO BROKE HIS PROMISE



NAUGHTY HERBERT: I tell you I didn't break my promise. I won't be punished, I won't, I won't!
WOMAN SUFFRAGIST: Hush-sh! You must really try to practise resignation.

(Mr. Asquith, referring to the failure of the Government to fulfil its Reform Bill pledge to the Woman Suffragists, informed the deputation from the N.U.W.S.S. last week that he "really could not put on a white sheet in regard to it.")

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

Last Friday morning Mr. Asquith received at Downing Street a deputation from the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Contrary to what is generally supposed, this is only the third time since he became Prime Minister that he has consented to see a national deputation of women on this important question.

What the Deputation Said

The deputation was introduced by Mrs. Fawcett, and after the other members had narrated to the Prime Minister the support which they had received at all points in the recent pilgrimage, she formulated the demand of the Union for a Government measure for Woman Suffrage. She pointed out that Mr. Asquith now occupied the position which Lord Palmerston held in the sixties with regard to the franchise of the working men. She reminded him, as Mrs. Pethick Lawrence had done in November, 1911, of the example of Wellington and Peel on the question of Catholic emancipation, and quoted to him the alternative precedent of Mr. Goschen in 1880, who, being in the minority of his party on electoral reform, retired temporally from party politics. Finally, she appealed to Mr. Asquith to accept the decision of the House and his party.

Mr. Asquith's Reply

Mr. Asquith, in his reply, spoke with respect of the pilgrimage and demonstration organised by the Union, which he contrasted with the "disorderly, and, indeed, criminal proceedings" of the revolutionary section of Suffragists. He then proceeded to defend himself against any suggestion of bad faith in the past, contending that every care had been taken by his Government to make their Franchise Bill capable of amendment to include women, and that the ruling of the Speaker had been a great disappointment to him. He admitted, however, that he had anticipated that in any event the amendment would have been defeated, but denied any knowledge of any pressure being put by any section of the Government upon any of their supporters to secure its defeat—a denial which, as Mrs. Fawcett very properly pointed out, contrasts strangely with the known facts of the situation.

Our Accusation Against the Premier

Mr. Asquith made no attempt to explain why, having utterly failed to carry out his promise—even if, as he argues, this was through no fault of his own—he neither offered nor gave any substitute satisfactory to those who had trusted him. He contented himself with saying to Mrs. Swanwick, who interrupted him on this point, that he admitted the position of the women was one of great hardship, and that if they could find a way of relieving it he was willing to adopt it. Yet he refused the only two practical alternatives suggested, of either himself being a party to a Woman Suffrage measure (as Wellington consented to be in the matter of Catholic Emancipation), or retiring and leaving the field to others (as was done by Mr. Goschen). It is this failure to do anything to repair a promise broken, however unintentionally, that, in our opinion, constitutes the bad faith of the Prime Minister.

No Promise for the Future

Turning to the future, Mr. Asquith stated, inferentially, that the Government have no intention of doing anything further during the present Parliament with regard to Woman Suffrage. As to the next Parliament, he declined to express any definite opinion, but hinted that there was a possibility then of the Liberal Government, if still in office, making themselves responsible for a Franchise Bill in which women were included. He gave the deputation to understand, however, that in that event he would retire from office rather than be a party to such a proceeding. By this he probably intended to convey that at the General Election he himself might not

seek re-election, and that Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd George might in that event feel compelled to put Woman Suffrage on their election programme. Women of self-respect will, of course, reject as utterly worthless this vague and procrastinating proposition.

The Advice of an Enemy

Equally they will decline to follow his concluding advice, recognising it to be the advice of an enemy of their cause. They will, if they are in earnest, refuse to confine their attention to "persuading the judgment of the people" in the hope of securing the fulfilment of Mr. Asquith's promise that in that event "their most determined opponents will be the first to bow" to the popular will. Instead, they will use every means to secure the defeat of Mr. Asquith, for they recognise more clearly than ever after his speech that it is only over his politically defunct body that their enfranchisement will be won.

The Country is Converted

The fact is, as we prove conclusively in our leading article this week, that the "people" are already converted; it is only owing to the conspiracy of silence on the part of politicians and the Press that the fact is not generally recognised. It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that our readers shall study the evidence for themselves, and shall bring it to the notice of others, both in the course of conversation and by circulating as widely as possible this issue of the paper. We also call their special attention to the paraphrase of Mr. Asquith's speech which appears on page 667. This has been carefully prepared by one of the Editors, with the view of making clear Mr. Asquith's real meaning to those who are not acquainted with the language of politicians.

Married Women's Income Tax

The debate on the Income Tax of married women last Monday in the House of Commons is illustrative of the method in which promises are fulfilled by Cabinet Ministers, particularly where unrepresented persons are concerned. Early in the session an undertaking was given that an opportunity would be provided for the discussion of this question; but this opportunity was constantly postponed, until at last the fag-end of the session was reached. It was then discovered that in order to comply with the rules of procedure of the House a resolution would first have to be passed, and then after a few days' interval the matter incorporated in the Bill. Mr. Lloyd George accordingly made a special appeal to members not to press the matter, as otherwise the business of winding up the session would be interfered with!

A Promise for Next Year

He gave, however, a definite promise to deal himself with the present anomalous position next year either in the Revenue Bill or in the Finance Bill. But from what he said it is quite clear that he does not propose really to deal with it satisfactorily, but merely to give relief to the husband. There is only one remedy which is just to both husband and wife, and at the same time in keeping with other laws—that is to treat the incomes of husband and wife as entirely distinct for the purpose of income tax. They are already so regarded for all ordinary purposes in consequence of the Married Women's Property Acts, and they are so regarded for the purpose of taxation in the death duties, for on the death of either, the State takes estate duty on the estate of the deceased, even though the whole property be left to the surviving partner of the marriage. This logical and just remedy Mr. Lloyd George does not propose to take.

Mr. Lloyd George Answered

He puts forward to it two objections. In the first place he says the State would lose a million and a quarter of revenue. To this we reply that the State must act justly, and must make up its loss of revenue in other ways. Secondly, he says it would be anomalous if a husband and wife each had an income of £500 that they should be able to claim abatement, whereas if the husband alone had an income of £1,000 he could claim no abatement. We do not recognise the anomaly. The same identical position holds to-day where two brothers are living together, or two sisters, or brother and sister, or father and son, and no one has ever suggested that it was anomalous. If he goes further and says that men of property would hand over part of their property to their wives in order to escape the tax, we answer that there are many reasons why they will not take this course. We shall return to this question again in these columns.

The Deputation of July 24

In answer to questions on the reduction of the sentences of Lady Sybil Smith, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Evelyn Sharp, the Home Secretary made two statements in the House of Commons last Tuesday: (1) That at one time one or all of these three had been militants, but they had abandoned militant action for a considerable period; and (2) That this information was communicated at his request to the magistrate, who had been unaware of it in passing the original sentence of fourteen days. The first statement is grossly misleading; for, while proving what we have always said, that many hundreds of women previous to November, 1911, were unjustly sentenced to terms of imprisonment up to three months in length, and unjustly termed criminals for the technical offence of "obstruction" with which they were charged, it implies that the three militants in question have departed from their former belief in the efficacy and justification of militant methods, an implication which, of course, as our readers know well, does not in the least represent the attitude of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence or her colleagues.

Why Were They Released?

The second statement is interesting as proving that we were right in our original assumption that the three particular sentences in question were reduced on the intervention of the Home Secretary, and not, as he first asserted, on the initiative of the magistrate. We are still unconvinced, however, with the precedent of Lady Constance Lytton in our mind, that Mr. McKenna's convenient reading of the word "militant" had anything to do with the release of the three prisoners. As Mr. Keir Hardie intimated in the House, last Tuesday, Lady Sybil Smith adopted the hunger-strike, thus challenging the Cat and Mouse Act. Thus, her unconditional release saved the Home Secretary the embarrassment of having a titled mouse on his hands.

Agitation Against the Act

Meanwhile, the agitation against the Cat and Mouse Act continues to grow. On Thursday in last week a deputation of clergy attempted to interview the Prime Minister, and were refused admission to his presence; on Monday afternoon a similar body of Hampshire electors, representing trades unionists, doctors, lawyers, tradesmen, and town councillors, were similarly repulsed. On Thursday, after we went to press, a similar deputation of Bedfordshire electors were to visit Downing Street at four o'clock. One point with regard to the clergymen's deputation is worth noting. The Church is proverbially denounced by the parties of progress as being on the side of the forces of reaction. When, as on this occasion, a section of the Church comes out bravely on the side of humanity, reform, and progress, the Liberal newspapers either ignore their action altogether, or treat it with contemptuous censure.

"An Absolute Failure"

When Sir A. Markham declared in the House of Commons on Tuesday that the Cat and Mouse Act has proved an absolute failure, he was demonstrating what is now obvious to everyone. As we go to Press Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Kenney, and Mr. George Lansbury are still at liberty, though they have all continued to address large audiences in public without re-arrest since the expiration of their licences. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was only re-arrested in Whitehall last Sunday, after a struggle on the part of her supporters, which ended in a serious riot. Five Birmingham women whose licences have expired are reported missing; Miss Richardson and Miss Jarvis both committed fresh offences against property before their re-arrest, while Mrs. Baines and Mrs. Rigby have been again released from prison.

The West End Flat Case

The grave scandal of the West End Flat case remains unrighted. And the severe strictures which we passed upon the authorities in our leading article immediately following the trial, have received striking support on every hand. The *Globe* newspaper has rendered invaluable service by opening its columns, and by taking a strong line on the question, and men—including the Bishop of London—and women, including Lady Barlow and Lady Bunting, have expressed themselves in no uncertain manner. An attempt has been made in the Liberal Press to represent the Government as injured innocents in the matter, as the result of Mr. McKenna's denial of complicity of any member of the Government, or any member of the House of Commons, in the disgraceful proceedings carried on in the flat. By so doing they are confusing the issue.

A Serious Accusation

The real issue is the deliberate hushing up of the facts of the case, and the suppression of the names of persons directly concerned, together with the scandalously light sentence imposed upon the one culprit who has been brought to justice. These point unmistakably to a definite conspiracy to shield some person or persons of influence, and there can be little doubt that to this conspiracy the Government itself is a party. If this conspiracy goes unpunished, two results will ensue, firstly, men of position will learn that they can contravene with impunity the law recently passed for the suppression of the White Slave Traffic; and secondly, the police will learn that the less they interfere with these dens of iniquity the better. All decent men and women will support Mr. Keir Hardie's contention, in the debate on the question in the House last Tuesday, that the only course now open to the Home Office is to make public all the facts in its possession, and to proceed against Queenie Gerald on the graver charge which had been withdrawn. The Home Secretary's reply, which was equivocal in the extreme, will be found on page 669.

The Maternity Benefit

We chronicled last week the result of the divisions in the House of Commons on the subject of the maternity benefit, and expressed our view that though the position is now considerably more satisfactory than in the original Act, it would have been still better if the clause carried in the Select Committee had been allowed to stand unaltered. We note that Miss Llewellyn Davies, whose work mainly contributed to the recognition of the right of the mother to the benefit, takes the same view in a letter to the *Times* of Saturday last. It is important to notice the arguments put forward by the Labour Party through the mouths of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and Mr. Roberts in opposition to the reform. They said that to give the benefit straight to the mother would be a slight upon the whole male sex, and would cause dissension in the home. Precisely similar arguments were used by men who opposed the Married Women's Property Act. By similar reasoning every law against theft might be construed as a slight upon all honest people. The debate and division proved once more that the interests of working women are not safeguarded by the representatives of working men.

The Significance of the Reform

The all-importance of this triumph lies in the fact that for the very first time in legislation the wife of the working man has received a recognised status. In these columns we have originated the idea, and have often laid stress upon it, that the wife is not the economic dependant of the industrial husband except in the sense that she is his economic partner. This idea has now begun to penetrate even into the minds of the representatives of the male electorate. We draw attention to what, from our point of view, was the most important utterance in the whole course of the debate. Mr. F. Ward (L., Stoke-on-Trent) said:—

> The husband's contribution towards the insurance was really a joint contribution of himself and his wife. The wife did all the drudgery to keep the family in decency, and in most cases did the lion's share in keeping the home together. The benefit was maternity benefit, and on every ground belonged to the woman, and to the woman only.

Let this idea penetrate, and the conscience of the nation will no longer allow the wife of the worker, who has helped to pay her husband's weekly contribution, to be left destitute in her widowhood.

The Case of the Widow

Apropos of this subject, when Mr. John Burns has succeeded in securing for widows with young children a pension that will enable them to stay in the home, we shall believe that his campaign against married women's work is the outcome of his belief in the sanctity of motherhood and not a device (as he once confessed to a member of the Independent Labour Party) for solving the question of male unemployment by securing all the well-paid industrial openings for men. We give on page 664 an extract from a recent speech made by Mr. Burns, in which he gives some statistics as to the widow.

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THE CHURCH Mmilitant

IN A CROWD

Time: 3.15 p.m., Thursday, August 7.
Place: Corner of Downing Street.

JIM: Nah then, oo are yer a-shovin' of? Why, if it ain't Bill! Wot yer doin' dahn 'ere, matey?

BILL: Come to see the cops kick the bloomin' sky-pilots out o' Dahnin' Street, like they kicked the lydies out o' the 'ouse o' Commons larst week.

JIM: No fear! The cops 'ave got their orders to treat 'em gentle. The genelmen 'ave got votes, an' wot's more—they got hinfluence over voters. It won't do for the Government to fall out wiv the parsons. Not arf!

BILL (disappointedly): Ain't there goin' to be no row then? Some o' these 'ere females look as if they'd come out for a shindy. Blime! ain't they a blood-thirsty lot o' women? Wants shootin'—some of 'em.

JIM: Well, *they* ain't shed no blood yet. An' which one of 'em are yer goin' to start shootin' of, Bill?

BILL: Wy, yer don't mean to tell me as yer 'oldin' wiv these 'isterical women, do yer, Jim? Votes! Wot do *they* want wiv votes? Look at that 'ole mide in the purple 'at! (Addressing her.) "I sy, miss, why don't yer go 'ome an' get an 'usband?"

SUFFRAGETTE: I've got one already, thank you, and two children besides.

BILL: More shime to yer fer leavin' 'em, then. I'll be bound they're cryin' their 'eds horf at 'ome while you're gaddin' rahnd, tryin' to sell them bloomin' pipers.

SUFFRAGETTE: One of them is twenty, the other twenty-one. They're both standing behind you. We can't always be working at home. Even you men leave your work sometimes, you know.

JIM: Blow me, that's one on you, Bill. But, I sy, strite nah! 'Ow long 'ave yer bin a millertant?

BILL: *Me* a millertant? Oo are yer 'avin'?

JIM: Wy, I thought yer must 'a' bin readin' one of this 'ere bloke Carson's speeches in the noosepipers, 'cos yer seemed so anxious to begin to shoot.

BILL (looking round at the women and scowling): Well, if any of 'em comes and blows hup *my* 'appy 'ome an' 'urts my kids, I'll shoot 'em dahn like dorgs. S'elp me!

SUFFRAGETTE: We're not out to hurt babies, but to save them. And you said just now you didn't believe in militancy.

JIM: Don't mind 'im, mum; 'e's as mild as a lamb, reely. Ain't yer, Bill? And 'e fergets that me an' 'im wouldn't be 'avin' a vote to-day if it 'adn't bin fer them Chartist chaps, years ago. They 'ad to do a tidy bit o' burnin', an' wuss than that, before they could get a move on the blokes in Parlyment. Wot *I* sez is, I admire yer pluck, lydies. Stick it! An' then this 'ere 'unger an' thirst strikin'. Well, it beats me! You an' me couldn't do it; eh, Bill?

BILL: Wot they're sich bally idgiots fer, *I* cawn't think. Such a lot o' fuss fer a vote. Wy, I wouldn't walk acrost the street to use mine!

WORKING WOMAN (holding a half-starved looking baby): Nah yer've hit it, mister! That's jest wy we women wants it. If the likes o' you 'ad done yer dooty wiv yer votes, me an' my poor Lizer-Jane 'ud be earnin' more than 7s. a week at trouser-makin'. We're a-goin' to teach you men sum-fink when *we* get the vote.

BILL: Well, wot *har* yer goin' to do wiv yer vote when yer *do* get it? Nah, then!

WORKING WOMAN (fiercely, and holding up the baby): Look at this 'ere child! Yuss! *Look* at 'im! I'm 'is granny. 'Is farver earns over four pun' a week an' the kid's near starvin'. Cos why? Well, 'e ain't 'is *legal* farver. An' when us women gets the vote we're a-goin' to do wot the women in Australy did. We're a-goin' to make hevery farver of a hilligitimate child bear a hequal share wiv its muvver in a-bringin' of it hup—clothes an' food an' heveryfink!

JIM: Well, that wouldn't be a bad start, missus.

WORKING WOMAN: Well, and we're a-goin'——

GENTLEMAN IN BLUE: Now, then! Move along, move along! Make way here!

(*And the deputation comes in sight.*)

Louisa Thomson-Price.

With acknowledgments to the Church Socialist League. [*Photo: Heawood, Leicester.*

THE REV. F. LEWIS DONALDSON

The approaches to Downing Street were well guarded with police on Thursday afternoon in last week, when a deputation of ten clergymen walked peaceably down Whitehall and endeavoured to interview the Prime Minister at his official residence. Their object was to protest against the Cat and Mouse Act and to call upon the Government to do justice to women rather than submit them to a cruel coercion, and they represented some 150 clergy who had sent in their names as signatories to a memorial to be presented to Mr. Asquith.

The Prime Minister, as we stated in our last issue, had declined to receive this deputation, but on their intimating that they would wait upon him all the same, he informed Mr. Donaldson, their leader, that his private secretary would be happy to see two or three of them. The following clergymen were selected to form the deputation:—The Rev. F. L. Donaldson (Leicester), the Rev. C. Baumgarten (London), the Rev. A. S. Rashleigh (Staines), the Rev. W. H. Bridge (Edinburgh), the Rev. G. H. Davis (Hereford), the Rev. A. F. Fenn (Guist, Norfolk), Canon Grant (London), the Rev. Cyril Isherwood (Little Ilford), the Rev. A. M. Mitchell (Newton-le-Willows), the Rev. W. C. Roberts (Rugby), and the Rev. J. Drew Roberts (Hampstead).

A Rousing Cheer

A fine crowd of Suffragists, both men and women, gave the deputation a rousing cheer as soon as they came in sight. At the entrance to Downing Street, after a short parley with the inspector in charge, the ten members of a Church that has not always in the past remembered to be militant where the cause of progress and humanity was in question, were allowed to pass through the barrier of police, one by one. Finally, accompanied by a constable, three of them were admitted inside No. 10. The others were left standing in the desert waste which is now the habitual appearance presented by the street in which Cabinet Ministers live under police protection.

Text of the Memorial

The three favoured members of the deputation, Mr. Donaldson, Mr. Rashleigh, and Mr. Baumgarten, presented to Mr. Asquith's private secretary the following memorial:—

"We, being priests of the Church and representatives of a large number of clergy of the Church of England who have signified their assent to the object of our deputation, protest respectfully against your decision not to receive us. It is rarely, indeed, that the clergy ask for the privilege of a personal interview with great officers of State, and it is obvious, therefore, that our doing so suggests the existence of a reasonable and adequate and even urgent cause.

"We find that cause in the Act popularly known as the 'Cat and Mouse Act'; by the provisions of which our fellow citizens may be incarcerated, let out of prison, and reincarcerated, at the will of the Home Secretary, until, brought to the last extremity of weakness by the voluntary endurance of hunger and thirst for the sake of their cause, they are completely broken down. We believe that we represent a fast-growing feeling in the nation against this cruel Act of Parliament, and its assumption that those against whom its provisions are directed appertain to the criminal classes of society, and that the only course open to the Legislature is to force them to acquiesce in the neglect by the Government of the most urgent political matter of our time—namely, the enfranchisement of women.

"Spiritually Minded Citizens"

"We are convinced that the victims of this Act, and the great majority of those who support these protests, are among the most intelligent and spiritually-minded citizens of the nation, and that it is not they who are blameworthy, but rather the Government itself, which by its refusal of justice to women is responsible for the present *impasse*. We are assured, by the wide experience which our sacred calling gives us, that the moral consciousness of the most worthy men and women in the nation revolts against both the principle and the working of the Act; against its principle as an Act for the avoidance of doing justice, and against its working in bringing to the verge of death those who, out of zeal for a noble cause, come under its operations.

"In the name of God we protest against this cruel and unprecedented procedure of the law. As citizens, we regard this Act as the most illiberal and unjust of our generation; as Christians we deplore the substitution of coercion for the doing of justice. Finally, we urge upon you the necessity for the immediate abandonment of prosecutions under this Act and the introduction without delay of a liberal measure of enfranchisement of women."

Another demonstration followed when the deputation returned into Whitehall, and a large crowd accompanied them to the House of Commons, where, to the surprise of those who had seen a similarly peaceful deputation, composed, however, of women, exactly a fortnight earlier, flung into the street and three of their number arrested for attempting to make a similar entry, were admitted without question and allowed to proceed to the lobby, and even to the terrace, unmolested.

SPIRITED LETTERS IN THE PRESS

From the Bishop of Lincoln

The Bishop of Lincoln, one of the signatories to the memorial, wrote a strong letter to the *Times*, in the course of which he says:—

"The memorandum addressed by the clergy to the Prime Minister I cheerfully signed, for I agreed with every word of it. But I declined to attempt to call upon him against his wish, inasmuch as I am unwilling, even in a good cause, to do anything that might savour of violence or discourtesy. I am aware that John Bright and his Free-Trade friends made a raid upon Peel, at 10, Downing Street, but I prefer to out-Quaker Bright's Quakerism. I am a man of peace. At the same time, I decline to waste my time in deprecating the methods of the militants. I do not share or approve those methods; but I am not disposed to turn my remonstrances in that direction. I reserve them all for those who are so blind to the signs of the times, and so deaf to the logic of facts, as to refuse the franchise to women. Is it not the deliberate disregard of constitutional agitation, the cynical silence and contempt shown by most of the party Press, and the discovery that only the exploits of militancy provoke any official interest, that are the real causes of the present disorders?

"What means have women for making known and pressing home their demands? They have no votes. The Press is almost closed to them. Neither of the historical political parties wishes to have anything to say to them; they are only a worry and a peril to the party politician. Both parties want to make believe that the women's movement is weak, or is weakening, or can be ignored, at least for a time, without danger. But in reality the demand of women for the vote has come to be one of the greatest moral and social movements of our time. It gathers strength and volume daily; all the forces of progress are working in its favour; it cannot be set aside. It only awaits the handling of a sympathetic, courageous, and constructive statesman, who has imagination to conceive of the England that is to be.

"Methods of repression and expedients like the Cat and Mouse Act would deserve only ridicule, were it not for the sufferings they involve. The only sane and lasting remedy for the present discontent is truly Liberal legislation; that is, the extension of liberty through the franchise."

From the Rev. F. L. Donaldson

The Rev. F. L. Donaldson writes to the *Standard* in reply to an attack made upon him in that paper:—

"Revolution is but reform too long postponed. It is not because we are militants, but because we are, by our sacred calling, men of peace that we protest against that cynical indifference, that callous cruelty which drives men (and in this case, women) to acts of war. It is because justice is the only guarantee for peace that we appeal for justice to women now. . . . . .

"Gloss it how we may, the 'Cat and Mouse' Act is a modern form of persecution and of turture. It is the evil conception of men who are trying every way of escape except the right way from the political Frankenstein monster which they themselves have created. It is the old persecuting spirit in modern dress. It is the apotheosis of physical force as against the spiritual power of a righteous cause. By a single word the victims of this Act can have food and drink and release from prison. By a single word the early Christians could have had liberty and honour; by a single word the mediæval victims of stake and fire could have saved—their bodies. Persecution is always reasonable.

"You write of the 'honour and dignity of the English Church.' It will not suffer by our action; but we have to think not of that—that will take care of itself—but whether the English Church, and its clergy in particular, are or are not to be silent when wrong is done. The taunt is perpetual that at every actual moral crisis in the nation's life the clergy are found upon the side of worldly power and conventional tyranny—the custom of the time. The taunt is often undeserved, but there is enough truth in it to make us careful lest we, in our day, fail at critical moments."

DEPUTATION OF THE MEN OF HAMPSHIRE

Last Monday afternoon yet another Deputation attempted to see the Prime Minister, and to express their great abhorrence of the Cat and Mouse Act. The Deputation was composed of Hampshire men, representing 30,000 Trade Unionists of that county, also doctors, lawyers, tradesmen, and town councillors. Dr. E. H. Stancomb, of Southampton, organiser, had written to Mr. Asquith requesting an interview; this was refused, but it was stated that the Premier would be pleased to consider any communication the "Hampshire Men" chose to send him, or his secretary would receive them.

In spite of this reply the Deputation came to London and proceeded to Downing Street, across the entrance to which was drawn a cordon of police. Eventually three men were allowed to pass through, and accompanied by an inspector and a policeman were permitted to make their way down the street where stands the Prime Minister's official residence. At the door of No. 10 they were told Mr. Asquith was not at home. They therefore handed their Memorial to the doorkeeper and withdrew.

As we went to press we learnt that a deputation of Bedfordshire men intended to call upon Mr. Asquith on Thursday, August 14, at 4 p.m., to express their views on the Cat and Mouse Act. The usual correspondence had passed between the Premier's secretary and Mr. Talbot Jarvis, the organiser.

THE PILGRIMS' DEPUTATION TO MR. ASQUITH

As an outcome of the recent march through England of the Suffrage Pilgrims, a deputation from the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was received by the Prime Minister last Friday at his official residence in Downing Street. It was led by Mrs. Fawcett, President of the N.U.W.S.S., and consisted of Miss Margaret Robertson, Mrs. Harley, Miss Maude Royden, Mrs. Rackham, Mrs. Auerbach, Miss K. D. Courtney, Miss C. E. Marshall, Mrs. Swanwick, Miss Palliser, Miss E. M. Leaf, and Miss Philippa Strachey.

MISS ROBERTSON'S SPEECH

Miss Margaret Robertson, the first speaker, instanced the rapid advance of opinion among working men during the past five years. It was deplorable that the chivalry and common sense which working men so continually showed in their reception of suffragist speakers and arguments should be so entirely ignored by the Press, whilst the doings of a few hooligans were published from the house-tops.

Mr. Asquith: I entirely agree with you.

Miss Robertson went on to say that there had been a striking change in the view-point of working-men. Suffragist speakers were continually asked by men at meetings "whether my wife will get a vote." A few years ago they knew that to admit that a man's wife would get a vote would be to forfeit his support. (Laughter.) Some years ago a policeman in a mining town gave her the advice: "You say widders, miss; it is widders what fetches them." (Laughter.) Widows no longer fetched them. Workmen now regarded the question as one of giving more political power to their class. The trade unionists felt very keenly the danger to themselves of the competition of cheap women's labour, and were inclined to suspect that opposition to women's suffrage was a deliberate attempt on the part of those who wanted women's labour to remain cheap to keep it cheap. "You realise too little," she added, "how much the working man does trust his women folk."

OTHER SPEECHES

Mrs. Harley, who followed, said that woman suffrage aroused more interest in the country than any other subject, declared that the opposition was mostly anti-militant, and not anti-suffrage, and that where there was opposition to the vote it was anti-democratic in character.

Miss Royden, quoting the Prime Minister's remark that "Parliament had not neglected the interests of women," gave instances of legislation that pressed hardly on women, and said that no advice, discouragement, or measures of philanthropic legislation would convince women that politics were not their concern.

Mrs. Rackham also spoke, saying that they looked to the progressive Liberal and Labour forces in the House of Commons to rescue them from the tangle in which the cause had become involved in Parliament.

MRS. FAWCETT'S SPEECH

Mrs. Fawcett began her speech by saying: "I hope you will allow me to explain why we now feel that nothing short of a Government measure for Women's Suffrage will be of any use to us."

She then reviewed the events of the past twenty months, showing that Mr. Asquith's own public statements, and other pressure brought to bear upon private members, had nullified his pledges to the Suffragists right up to the time when the fiasco of the Reform Bill occurred.

"Your pledges and promises to us remain unredeemed," she added, and went on to say: "This is an outline of the events which have convinced us that our only road to the legislation we desire is by way of a Government Bill, and that it is waste of time and strength to work for anything else."

On her recalling the precedents of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel over Catholic Emancipation, and of Mr. Goschen over the enfranchisement of the agricultural labourer, the following dialogue took place:—

Mr. Asquith: How does the Goschen case come in?

Mrs. Fawcett: He resigned.

Mr. Asquith: You mean that members of the Government who are not in favour of women's suffrage should stand aside?

Mrs. Fawcett: It is possible.

Mr. Asquith: It is quite possible.

"To Redress the Grievances"

Mrs. Fawcett concluded by saying:

"The Government is now meeting the demand of women for free institutions with coercion and nothing but coercion. It is not thus that the victories of Liberalism have been won. I readily admit that the maintenance of order is one of the first duties of every Government. Another is to redress the grievances from which disorder has sprung. We condemn and deplore acts of violence, but we say that coercion by itself will not cure them and will probably lead to even greater excesses."

THE PRIME MINISTER

(A paraphrase of the following speech, by F. W. Pethick Lawrence, will be found on Page 667.)

The Prime Minister, after stating that he had refused to receive other deputations, "for reasons I think sufficient, but which I need not enter into here," said that he had consented to receive this one because it came from a body which he believed represented practically the whole of the constitutional organisation working for Woman Suffrage, and because it followed upon "the very impressive demonstration" which afforded a "welcome contrast to the disorderly and, indeed, criminal proceedings with which we have unhappily become too familiar elsewhere." Also, he understood that there were new facts that could be adduced for him to consider.

"The Peculiar Difficulties"

Mr. Asquith continued:—

"I wish to say that I have always recognised the peculiar difficulties and hardships of the ardent supporters of Woman Suffrage. Neither political party is united on the question; the machinery of neither political party is therefore at the disposal of those who are interested in its promotion; and under our present Parliamentary system the facilities for a private member's Bill are, unless the Government show it special favour, scanty and precarious. Therefore, this seems to be one of the cases in which it is possible that a real and actual majority in the country might not be receiving fair Parliamentary consideration. It was for that reason that, when I succeeded to the headship of the Government in 1908, I, after consultation with my colleagues, made the statement that the Government would introduce a Franchise Bill so framed in its title and terms as to admit of an amendment in the direction of Woman Suffrage, and that if, by the support of a majority, such amendment were carried, it would become an integral part of the Bill, and would be supported by all the force of the Government. I think you will agree with me that that was a strong thing for anybody to do who was not a supporter of Woman Suffrage. (Laughter.) Still, on the whole, and for the reasons I have given, it seemed to me that I was justified in taking up that position. Our Franchise Bill was most carefully and deliberately framed with the object of giving effect to the promise which, on the part of the Cabinet, I had made. Therefore, I hope you will agree with me when I claim that the Government have kept faith in this matter, and that I really cannot put on a white sheet in regard to it."

"Very Great Evidence"

No one was more disappointed than I was when, by the Speaker's ruling, the course we proposed became impossible; but I should be deceiving you if I said that, at the moment, I thought the amendment was going to be carried. As for the suggestion that any pressure was put by the Government, or any section of the Government, upon any of our supporters, it has not, so far as I am aware, any shadow of truth in it.

Mrs. Fawcett: There is very great evidence of it.

Mr. Asquith: I am sorry to hear you say so. I can only say for myself, and I think all my colleagues will bear me out, that although I am a strong I am a straightforward opponent of woman's suffrage, and I never exercised the faintest influence of any sort or kind on any human being from beginning to end. I should not have thought it honourable to do so. But does not what I have described come to this—that no Franchise Bill, however wide its title, can be amended so as to include woman suffrage?

Mrs. Swanwick asked whether it would not be possible to introduce into a Franchise Bill a woman suffrage provision by way of an italicised clause.

Mr. Asquith: That is an ingenious idea. An italicised clause is not supposed to be in the Bill at the second reading. But then an italicised clause has hitherto been always confined to money clauses. I will, however, look into the point.

Mrs. Swanwick: May I point out that the Bill of 1867 was called "The Representation of the People Bill"? If your Bill were given a wide and general title like that rather than the narrower title of the Franchise Bill, would it not be in order to introduce a woman suffrage amendment?

Mr. Asquith: I am not quite sure about that. How do you suggest that it makes a difference?

Mrs. Swanwick: Women are the people, are they not?

Mr. Asquith: Well, I suppose so. (Laughter.) But these are both very technical points. They deserve consideration, and they shall receive it. What I want to emphasize now is that in bringing in the Franchise Bill we had the most authoritative advice on the subject, which satisfied the most ardent advocates of your cause.

Mrs. Swanwick: Does not that prove that women need representation? (Laughter.)

Mr. Asquith: Now we are getting on. Do you mean representation in the Cabinet? (Laughter.) The further suggestion has been made by Mrs. Fawcett that the Government as a Government ought to make themselves responsible for the introduction of a Woman Suffrage Bill. That is really what you want.

Mrs. Fawcett: We feel that no other course will meet the case.

The Point

Mr. Asquith: The point is really whether or not, if a Liberal Government is in power in the next Parliament, by which I mean a Liberal majority in the House of Commons, which is composed in preponderating numbers of supporters of woman suffrage, it would then be the duty of the Liberal Government, whatever might be the personal opinions of some of its members, to introduce woman suffrage into their Franchise Bill. Well, I am not going to answer that question. (Laughter.) I am not very fond of the precedent of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel and Catholic emancipation. It has always seemed to me that it would have been the proper thing for them to have allowed their opponents to carry it. The other precedent, that of Mr. Goschen, is more simple. Mr. Goschen stood aside on the question of the agricultural labourers' vote and took no part in the passing of the Bill. As to that I will say nothing. But it is a question which certainly deserves consideration when the opportunity arises. This I will say—it is quite impossible, if the Liberal Party by a majority—a substantial majority, not a casual one—is in favour of a great measure such as that you are advocating, for a minority to obstruct or prevent the realisation of it.

Those "Very Good Friends!"

I have only to add that in these large matters of policy the Government must act as a whole. You have very good friends in the inner councils of the Government, and any step that I or the Government take will be taken with their counsel, concurrence, and co-operation. That security I gladly give you. If you read the speech which I made on the private member's Bill this year you will see that my attitude on the matter has been a good deal misunderstood. I said then, what I said before, that I think there is a certain amount of exaggeration both in those who anticipate good things and those who anticipate bad things from this change. I said, also, what I repeat, that it is a matter which, in the final resort, must be decided by the people themselves. Therefore, if I may, with all candour, offer one word of counsel, it would be this—proceed as you have been proceeding and continue to the end. I am perfectly certain that if you succeed in persuading the judgment of the people your most determined opponents would be the first to bow to it and to make the change.

Mrs. Fawcett: How is that judgment to be obtained?

Mr. Asquith: Some people are very fond of what is called the Referendum. I do not know whether that would suit your ideas.

Mrs. Fawcett: Two speeches have been made by your colleagues in regard to the Referendum. One said that it was the best way ever invented of stopping anything, and the other said it was therefore the best way of dealing with woman suffrage. (Laughter.)

A Member of the Deputation: Do you think there is not a majority in the House of Commons to-day who would vote for a Government measure?

Mr. Asquith: You must not put me that question. Governments can do very strange things. (Laughter.)

Mrs. Swanwick: May I ask whether you do not feel that something is owing to us as a debt, seeing that, through no fault of the Government, the promise given in 1908 has not been fulfilled?

Mr. Asquith: I feel that your position is one of great hardship.

Mrs. Swanwick: Will you relieve it?

Mr. Asquith: If you can find out a way.

A Member of the Deputation: Mrs. Fawcett has suggested a way—and a very good way, too.

Mr. Asquith: That I should resign? (Laughter.)

The Prime Minister was thanked for his speech by Mrs. Fawcett on behalf of the deputation.

DEPUTATION RECEIVED BY OTHER MINISTERS

The deputation was afterwards received by Suffragist members of the Cabinet, including Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Birrell, Mr. McKinnon Wood, Mr. Acland, Sir John Simon, Mr. Ellis Griffith, and Dr. Macnamara. The speakers on behalf of the deputation were Mrs. Fawcett, Miss Royden, Miss Robertson, and Mrs. Rackham. The proceedings were private, but

With acknowledgments to the "Daily News and Leader." [*Photo: C.N.*

MEMBERS OF THE DEPUTATION

the *Times* adds that in the discussion which took place Mr. Birrell and other Ministers questioned the deputation as to the kind of Bill which they wanted, also that no definite pronouncement on the subject was made by the Ministers present.

THE CONSERVATIVE FRONT BENCH APPROACHED

Mrs. Fawcett and Miss Eleanor Rathbone, of Liverpool, were also received last Friday evening by Mr. Bonar Law (Leader of the Opposition), when the proceedings were also private.

The *Manchester Guardian* states that arrangements are being made for the same deputation to be received by Lord Lansdowne, when there will also be present representatives of the women workers of the North.

THE PILGRIMS AND MR. J. R. MACDONALD

In connection with the Pilgrimage, a deputation from the N.U.W.S.S. also waited on Mr. J. R. MacDonald, M.P., leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party. The deputation was introduced by Mrs. Fawcett, who expressed the gratitude felt by the Union to the Labour party for its action in pledging itself to refuse to support any further extension of the suffrage to men unless women were included. The object of the deputation in coming to Mr. MacDonald was to draw his attention to the real strength of the suffrage movement in the country.

Mr. MacDonald's Reply

In the course of his reply, Mr. MacDonald said:—

"So far as the Labour party is concerned, you can depend upon it being absolutely solid in your favour. . . . We may disagree about method—you would like us to do some things which we think are inadvisable—but you will have to tolerate us, whilst we may not follow exactly the methods of which you approve. If we think it is better not to say or do anything at a given time, I want you to believe, and to tell your friends, that it is not because we are slacking, but because we feel here that there is a time to fight and a time not to fight. Such a disagreement is a disagreement in method but not in principle. I cannot say much more, but let me repeat the Labour party is a women's suffrage party, and I hope it will never do anything to justify you in withholding your confidence from it."

MR. McKENNA AND POLICE PROTECTION

In answer to a deputation from the N.U.W.S.S., who waited on the Home Secretary in order to lay a complaint before him of inadequate police protection in the course of their recent Pilgrimage, Mr. McKenna said that with regard to counties outside London he had no direct jurisdiction, but that he had power to write to these other police authorities and call their attention to the complaints laid before him. He went on to say:—

"I am sure these gangs of roughs of whom you complain, and justly complain, are just as obnoxious to me as other persons may be who endeavour to force their opinions in a way which I can only regard as being of the same kind as the action of roughs. You and I have a common duty in this. You desire as I do to enforce political openings, and, if I may express an opinion, I honestly and sincerely believe that your method of action has assisted your cause, and although I do not share your views I am convinced that your methods will be infinitely more successful in achieving your wishes than methods of an opposite kind. If I may, I should like to add that I sincerely admire the courage with which you ladies have carried on your work, and I assure you that you shall have the fullest protection which is the undeniable right of every law-abiding subject."

We could wish that the Home Secretary had shown an equal readiness to support the constitutional work of other suffrage societies as shown in meetings held by them in Hyde Park this summer, which were broken up by organised hooligans, over whom the police, though under the "direct jurisdiction" of the Home Office, exercised no control whatever.

IN THE PRESS

AN UNDOUBTED MAJORITY

Once Home Rule is settled, a very different situation will arise. There is an undoubted majority of Liberals in favour of Woman Suffrage. The enfranchisement of women is accordant with all those principles which give life and energy to Liberalism. That being so, a minority, even though it have Mr. Asquith at its head, must not block the way. The time is gone when in a civilised State we can have existing side by side a nation of men enjoying all political rights, and a nation of women to whom all political rights are denied.—**Daily Chronicle.**

"A LITTLE BELATED"

No reasonable person would complain of the advice given yesterday by the Prime Minister to the non-militant suffragettes that in the education of the electorate lay the best hope of seeing a realisation of their political desires. But the women might well complain that such advice is a little belated from the head of the Government, and that by the action of Mr. Asquith the suffragettes have been on several occasions either cajoled or tricked into the belief that the Government were at least ready to stand aside and permit the House of Commons to make, if it chose, a vast and vital change in the Constitution without the sanction of the electorate. With the more modest demands of the advocates of votes for women we have ourselves expressed sympathy, but we have protested throughout against Mr. Asquith's attitude, which would divest the Government of all responsibility for the action of the House of Commons.—**Globe.**

WOMEN AT THE BAR

A committee has been formed, of which Lord Robert Cecil is chairman, for the purpose of securing women's admission to the bar by obtaining the support of barristers for Lord Wolmer's Bill, and ensuring its passage into law next session. While glad of any sign of activity where the position of women is concerned, we would remind all those who devote their time to opening the closed professions to women that prejudice in this direction will never be really broken down till women possess the symbol of equality with men, and that the quickest way to make women into barristers is to concentrate on making them citizens first.

MEDICAL WOMEN DELEGATES AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

(From Our Special Correspondent)

One of the most interesting features of the Medical Conferences held in London during the past ten days has been the attendance of representative medical women from all parts of the world. They took a particularly prominent part in the debates on Infantile Mortality at the first conference, when Dr. Scharlieb and Dr. Ethel Bentham were among those who represented London. Dr. Mary Booth, an Australian, spoke most interestingly on the right sort of education for girls, contending that every attention must be paid to their physical health, and that the school must not be allowed to interfere with the happiness of the girls' home relations, and that due regard should be given to her training for her probable future as wife and mother, but that the scheme of education must widen, not limit, her choice of a career. Dr. Helen Macmurdy, of Toronto,, who dealt in a very practical way with the subject in which her fame has probably travelled farthest—the prevention of infant mortality—is the most brilliant of Canada's women doctors, and holds a Government position as chief inspector of housing accommodation for the Province of Ontario, such as has been given to no other woman in the Dominion, while in her own country and in the States she is well known as a lecturer. The paper read by an American woman, Dr. Caroline Hedges, of Chicago, on the better education of girls, was one of the most illuminating presented to the Conference.

Over a hundred women delegates, English and foreign, attended the International Congress, but they were so divided in nationality and among the sections that it was extremely difficult to get any definite information about them, beyond their numbers. Fifteen came from the United States, all of them, one gathered, women of first rank in their profession, among them Dr. Sarah Palmer, of Boston, a well-known surgeon, who takes a keen interest in the feminist movement. One found, by the way, that the Suffrage question interested the visitors intensely, and several of the foreign doctors made their way quickly to the militants' headquarters in Kingsway. "Are you a Suffragist?" was the question one Russian lady asked each new acquaintance, and great was her pleasure when a militant presented her with a tri-coloured badge. It was rather curious to note that if they did not know the names of our most distinguished women doctors, the pioneers, they were quick to acclaim that of the militant Suffragist leader.

Twenty-three of the foreign delegates came from Russia and Siberia, from St. Petersburg, Moscow, Charhov, Keiff, and Tomsk, a large proportion of them, but by no means all, specialists in gynæcology. Russia, of course, has four medical schools for women, and this profession has long had great attraction for Russian women, while few Frenchwomen, on the other hand, think of entering it. There were half a dozen women delegates from France, most of them bearing Russian names.

Germany, for some undiscoverable reason, sent only four women, and as many came from Austria-Hungary. There were three Italians, one woman doctor from Spain, and two from Holland.

THE FATHERLESS AND THE WIDOW

We comment in our "Outlook" upon the sad case of the widow of the working class in this country. The following passage is taken from Mr. John Burns' speech as reported in the *Daily Telegraph* (August 5):—

"He put it to them as ratepayers that 40 per cent. of our pauperism—and it cost about eighteen millions a year—was due to widowhood and orphanhood. One of every three widows came to the Poor Law through the illness of their bread-winner, themselves, or some of their family. At the present moment he was foster-father to 270,000 Poor Law children, many of them very young, and he wanted his family to diminish rapidly."

A Case in Point

A grim illustration of Mr. Burns' statistics came to light at the Manchester County Police Court last Friday, when Mrs. Betty Howard was charged with cruelty to her four children, whose ages ranged from six to eleven, by neglecting to provide lodgings for them. She had been left a widow eighteen months, was anxious to earn her own living, which she had done as farm labourer at 15s. a week, but had been out of work three weeks. They had been found sleeping in a shed, with no covering but their clothes.

The charge of cruelty was withdrawn, the children were remanded to the workhouse, and Mr. Yates, K.C., said the defendant would have to find a home for the children before the end of eight days, *or they would all be sent to a reformatory.*

A Strong Press Comment

We recommend this case to the consideration of Mr. John Burns, who is so anxious to make married women incapable of being bread-winners, and does nothing to meet the case of the widow. The *Manchester Guardian*, in which the case was reported on August 9, makes the following strong comment on the case:—

"Our criticism, however, goes a little further. . . . It is directed against the whole principle of driving a widow left with several children into the labour market to earn wages when her true function is to be bringing up those children. We hear much of the glory of maternity and the sanctity of the home, yet at the end, with all our public and private charity, what we do with a poor woman struggling to keep her children with her is to prosecute her for cruelty and threaten her with separation from them. Meantime, the reform of the Poor Law is indefinitely postponed, and with it the hope for all such women that their suffering shall be recognised as something very different from the plaint of the genuine pauper."

THE QUESTION OF STATE CONTROL

By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence

It is well that facts long concealed from general knowledge should have been brought into the light of day by the eminent doctors assembled at the International Medical Congress. It is well that the main cause of infant mortality has been named, and that the canker that is eating into the vitality of the race has been disclosed. But although a campaign against the ravages of venereal disease is a matter of supreme concern to all social reformers, it is fraught, so long as women remain unenfranchised, with utmost danger to the safety and honour of women.

It will be remembered that the last time an attempt was made to deal with this question by legislation, an Act was slipped through in the House of Commons by the Liberal Government then in power, couched in such terms that the country at large, and it is said even the Members of Parliament who voted for it, had not the smallest conception of its import. The result of that Act was that women of the unprotected classes were made the victims of a horrible system which signified the debasement of the whole estate of womanhood, and its degradation to the lowest purposes and utilities of sex. It needed an agonising campaign of seventeen years before that great wrong was undone, and the C. D. Acts were swept away.

Once Bitten Twice Shy

It will be argued that there is no danger at the present time of a revival of the C. D. Acts. But once bitten it behoves women to be twice shy. We have had experience in recent years of the ripening of campaigns into legislation. Bills, innocuous from women's point of view, have even passed their second reading in the House, and the clauses inimical to women have been slipped in during the Committee stage, leaving no time even for effective agitation on the question.

Nothing would please the Government more than to see the moral passion and enthusiasm that makes the Votes for Women agitation so formidable to-day concentrated behind the movement that has been indicated by the Medical Congress. Should that movement ripen to the point of legislation, the Government, supported by a male electorate, could at the last decisive moment slip in clauses detrimental to the safety and honour of women, who, being still voteless, would be powerless to resist the injury by political pressure.

Women will show their wisdom by maintaining towards this campaign an attitude of great reserve. They must not move an inch from the ground they have taken up in demanding Votes for Women as a preliminary step before any question of social reform shall be dealt with by the legislature.

THE BROWN LADY

In Memoriam—Violet Honnor Morten

She passed, a lady garbed in brown,
Fleet-footed, ever hastening
Across the ways of Tyrant Town
To find the weakest thing.

And as the path which Nature shuns
She trod, the world's uncloistered Clare,
The least of all the little ones
Cried: "Goes *my* mother there."

Back to the witless waif-child's eyes
God's image she had yet beguiled.
On her the speechless babe from wise
And soundless regions smiled.

And blindness her approach espied,
So might it be, with vision keen
Beholding One who walked beside
The visitor unseen!

So weakness on her bosom hid,
The way more excellent who trod,
And many sinners passed unchid
Those eyes that looked on God.

Yet smote she with example's goad
The self-made littleness of souls;
So none with her in peace abode
Who sought life's meaner goals.

Sweet despot spirit! Who has felt
The sting of thy nobility,
Nor at Renouncement's altar knelt
Which shrines a thought of thee?

E. M. D.

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ETHEL CARNIE,
Bebel House, 96, Lexham Gardens,
Earl's Court, S.W.

N.B.—Please pass on to Socialist working women who may have emigrated to other countries.

Resident Principal,
Bebel House Working Women's College,
MRS. BRIDGES ADAMS
(formerly Socialist member late London School Board).

VOTES FOR WOMEN

4-7, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

Telegraphic Address:—Votfowom, Fleet, London.
Telephone:—Holborn 1305.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 15, 1913.

WHO ARE THE PEOPLE?

In the course of his reply to the deputation from the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies, Mr. Asquith used these words: "I am perfectly certain that if you succeed in persuading the judgment of the people, your most determined opponents would be the first to bow to it and to make the change."

By this statement Mr. Asquith implies by inference that Suffragists have not up to the present succeeded in persuading the judgment of the people; at the same time, he carefully avoids saying either whom he reckons "the people" or what criterion of support he as one of the "determined opponents" is prepared to accept as sufficient and convincing.

When we try to define what Mr. Asquith probably means by the word "people," four possible categories at once occur to our mind. In the first place, there are the people most directly concerned, namely, the women themselves, the present unenfranchised class. Secondly, there are the people of this country as a whole, the adult population of men and women living in these islands. Thirdly, there are the Parliamentary electors. Fourthly, there are the County people, the Smart Set, Members of Parliament, the Gentlemen's Clubs and the like, all comprised in what is known as Society with a capital "S."

Let us take these different bodies of people one at a time, and test by every possible means their views upon the proposition of Woman Suffrage which is being put forward by the unanimous voice of the Woman Suffrage societies, viz., the proposition that the sex barrier to the franchise shall be swept away so that women who pay rates and taxes shall have the vote.

In the first place, is there anyone who, having carefully studied the question, is able to deny that this proposal is warmly supported by the women of the country, and in particular by the women who would be enfranchised under it? If so, what evidence can he adduce in favour of his view? No society of women of any kind whatever except the Anti-Suffrage Society itself has passed resolutions against Woman Suffrage. No great meetings of opposition have been held by women. The only evidence ever attempted is the anti-Suffrage petition and the so-called canvass of women municipal voters by the Anti-Suffrage League. As to the petition, everyone recognises to-day that political petitions are a measure of the assiduity and organising ability of the collectors, and are no indication of the magnitude of feeling in favour of the views which they advocate. As to the canvass, it is entirely worthless as evidence for three reasons: (1) Because it was only taken in carefully selected constituencies; (2) because it was not taken impartially, but in a wholly biassed manner by a biassed association; (3) because a question totally different from that at issue was put to the voters.

On the other hand, the evidence that women do want the vote is direct and overwhelming. All the great organised bodies of women—doctors, teachers, nurses, co-operators, temperance women, trade unionists, to say nothing of the great suffrage societies themselves and the societies of women Liberals—have passed practically unanimous resolutions demanding the franchise for their sex. Vast processions and demonstrations of women (some of them exceeding in size any previous political demonstrations of men) have been held in the last few years for the same purpose. An immense campaign fund of over a quarter of a million pounds has been subscribed by tens of thousands of women as against a secret fund collected by anti-suffragists, mostly given by a few rich men and one or two rich women. Tens of thousands of women have worked with unflagging zeal, while hundreds, and even thousands, of women have faced the horrors of prison, and some have faced even death itself. These facts provide indisputable evidence of the desire of women for the franchise.

As to the support given by the men and women of the country as a whole, we have the fact that at the immense number of open public meetings held indoors and outdoors during the last two or three years—amounting probably to twenty or thirty thousand in all—suffrage resolutions have almost invariably been carried by overwhelming majorities. Opposition there has been, and is, to militancy; everybody recognises that, including, of course, the most revolutionary of the militants themselves, who devised these tactics with the avowed object of producing a state of affairs which the people would wish to bring to an end. But at the present time, as the members of the N.U.W.S.S. were able to prove by the striking facts as to their pilgrimage, there is practically no opposition at all to the claim that women who fulfil the qualifications and bear the responsibilities of citizenship should be given the franchise.

Turning now to the existing electorate of the country, there is no direct test which could be applied in keeping with our Constitution to ascertain their views on this issue unless one of the great parties adopted Woman Suffrage as a paramount plank in its party programme and a general election was fought on the question. Up to the present, no such election has been fought, and though one or two independent candidates have stood on the Woman Suffrage issue the fact that they had against them the whole opposition of the party machines of both parties predetermined their certain defeat. But though no direct test is available, all the indirect evidence points to the fact that the electorate is friendly to Woman Suffrage. Out of the 670 members of the present Parliament, over 400 were returned after expressing themselves favourable. Nearly every one of the Municipal Councils (who are returned by the same electorate as the House of Commons with the addition of a small number of women electors) have petitioned Parliament to carry the Bill, while not a single Council has sent a petition against it.

But the strongest ground for asserting the support of the electors is that there are numbers of M.P.'s personally unfriendly to Woman Suffrage who have given at election time pledges of support for the cause, showing that in order to win votes they considered it politic to appear to be favourable to the enfranchisement of women; while we have never heard of a single case of a candidate personally favourable to Woman Suffrage who thought it politic to hide his light under a bushel when coming before his constituency.

We have now exhausted all the definitions of the word "people" which Mr. Asquith may have had in his mind except the last, and we have finally to put the question whether the people defined as Society with a capital "S" is friendly or unfriendly to women having the vote. In answer to this question, we say frankly we do not know, and we have never troubled to find out. We are quite certain that there are large numbers of people in Society, reckoning among them many of its most honoured members, who thoroughly appreciate the reasons for the enfranchisement of women and are zealous to secure the enactment of this reform; but it may be that the empty heads exceed in numbers the wise ones, and that the majority of the "people" in this sense has not been converted to Woman Suffrage. But we would remind Mr. Asquith that the same "people" have opposed every enfranchisement Bill that has ever been introduced, and that not a single one of his present measures would have the least chance of passage into law if their support was required before it could be carried. In a word, they are not the "people" to whom the final appeal rests to-day in political matters.

The fact is that Mr. Asquith, under pretence of waiting for a verdict of the people, is in reality standing out against a great popular reform widely and urgently demanded. In so doing he is running his party on the rocks and plunging this country in a perfectly unnecessary revolution.

WHAT MR. ASQUITH REALLY MEANT

His Speech to the N.U.W.S.S. Deputation Paraphrased by F. W. Pethick Lawrence

I have refused to see so many deputations on Woman Suffrage lately that, in order to prevent the matter becoming recognised universally as a public scandal, I have reluctantly decided to see you. The fact that I am doing so, coupled with the drastic action of the revolutionary party, will provide me for the future with two excellent excuses for not seeing them, though, as a matter of fact, I have refused to see them in the past without either such excuse, particularly in 1908, after they had held in Hyde Park a peaceful demonstration drawn from all parts of the country, at which the *Times* reckoned half a million people were present.

Now that you are here I shall say nothing to repair the grossly unjust way I have treated the whole question of Woman Suffrage, but I shall give you personally a certain amount of flattery in the hope that it may deter you from effective opposition and agitation.

Under modern political circumstances, the Government have absolute control of legislation. I might, therefore, as head of the Government, have placed a direct and open veto on all Bills or amendments dealing with Woman Suffrage. To have taken this course, however, would have had two consequences which I wished to avoid. In the first place, it would have made it awkward for men like Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd George to remain members of the Cabinet and at the same time to continue to proclaim themselves to be ardent Woman Suffragists. In the second place, it would have alienated many devoted women Liberals and deprived the members of my party of their humble but useful services at election time. It would also, perhaps, have driven some of you that I see before me into more definitely anti-Government action, or even into militancy. I preferred, therefore, to achieve my purpose by a masterly underhand policy.

Some of you might like me to say something about the Conciliation Bill and the promise I made with regard to it, which was to be kept not only in the letter but also in the spirit, but I think it better to leave that subject alone because, as you know, Mr. Lloyd George somewhat foolishly let the cat out of the bag when he said we had torpedoed that Bill by our own franchise proposals. I am going, therefore, to confine my attention to the promise I made with regard to the amendment to the Reform Bill.

A Strong Step for an Anti-Suffragist

Some people thought that was rather a strong thing for an Anti-Suffrage Premier to do, but I may tell you now that it was nothing of the kind. I knew quite well from the beginning that it could never be carried. That being so, I was rather sorry when the Speaker gave his ruling that the Bill was not open to amendment to include Woman Suffrage because that appeared to put me in the wrong, whereas if the amendment had proceeded to a division and been defeated, as I knew it would have been, I should have been enabled to carry into law a Manhood Suffrage measure which would have blocked Woman Suffrage for some years.

As to the reasons why the amendment was certain to be defeated, I knew that the Irish Party and a number of my own followers would see that to carry it would make my position as Premier impossible and would break up the Government; with the object of helping this opinion, I took care never to contradict any rumours that I should resign if it were carried, or to take any steps to prevent my anti-Suffrage colleagues from threatening the break-up of the Government. Of course, I refused to have any official reports brought to me of what was taking place, so that though I have no reason to doubt that these things happened, yet speaking as a politician in the language of diplomacy I am able to put my hand on my heart and deny all knowledge of them.

A Genuine Prospect of Success

When by the Speaker's ruling my promise to provide a Reform Bill which could be enlarged by amendment to include women was broken, I could, of course, have done one of two things. I could have resigned, and thereby have shown that I recognised through no fault of mine I had failed to keep my word; that course was personally distasteful to me. On the other hand, I could have introduced a Government Bill to enfranchise women, but that would have given Woman Suffrage a genuine prospect of success which I have never intended should be the case.

What I did was to substitute a new "opportunity" which I foresaw was quite certain to end in failure, and which has so ended. Unfortunately, you all saw through that opportunity from the beginning, and so it was not a very satisfactory substitute. But if I could devise some fresh scheme equally illusory with that which the Speaker destroyed, but which would be seductive enough to satisfy you all at the time it was promised, then I should be happy to accommodate you. Perhaps you yourselves may be obliging enough to suggest one. No? You won't take any proposal other than a Government measure for Woman Suffrage because you say that no other proposal has a genuine chance of success? That distresses me, because I had hoped you would be put off with much less than that. Mr. Lloyd George, whom I always in jest call an ardent supporter of Woman Suffrage (in consequence, I think, of his having torpedoed the Conciliation Bill), said you would be very easily satisfied. I wish he were here now to devise some way of doing it. As he is not, I shall have to try myself.

Never Jam To-day

My trump card is procrastination, and my first trick is to hypnotise you into working not to secure the vote at once, but in the dim and distant future. With that object I am first going to try to persuade you that there is no prospect whatever of women being enfranchised by this Parliament. Of course, you could be if you were all to become strongly anti-Government and if your Liberal sisters were to come out on strike and if—but I am telling you too much. What I was saying was that I want to divert your minds from this Parliament to next. If I get you to take that quietly, then afterwards I shall be able to devise some means of making it impossible for you to win the vote in next Parliament, and that is as far as I need go for the present.

I have no intention of following the example of Peel and Wellington and myself introducing a Woman Suffrage Bill, or of following the example of Goschen and retiring and letting others do so, because you haven't yet driven me into a position when I must take one of those courses, and if you will follow the advice I am going to give you, it will, I hope, be some time, if ever, before such a situation arises. What I want you to do is firstly to avoid pestering Cabinet Ministers, because, as Campbell-Bannerman unfortunately said, pestering Cabinet Ministers is a very effective means of making them do things; secondly, to repudiate militancy of all sorts on every possible occasion, for that enables me to drive a wedge through the Suffrage ranks and to meet the heroic spirit of the militants with the ruthless methods of the Cat and Mouse Act; thirdly, to confine yourselves exclusively to talking to the general public, for the opinions of the general public matter nothing to me.

When you prove to me that you have persuaded the general public (and I may tell you straight off that there is no form of proof available which I should ever accept), then I will myself wave a flag and shout, "Votes for Women!" but as you can never do that I shall remain to the end your implacable foe.

[*A verbatim report of Mr. Asquith's speech as delivered will be found on page* 664.]

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Colours: Purple, White, and Red. Motto: "Come on! Hold on! Fight on!"

The VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship is the common meeting-ground of all men and women who bear goodwill to the Votes for Women cause. They may be Suffragists already—"militant," or "quasi-militant," or "spiritually militant," or "non-militant." They may be living in different parts of the world. They may be hitherto ignorant of the history of the Movement or its full significance. It does not matter. If they are men and women of goodwill, if they want to take part in a great campaign for human liberty, if they want definite work suitable to their individual capacity, then they are heartily welcome, and can send in their names to be enrolled amongst the Fellows.

Every day applications for membership are coming in at the rate of 50 to 100 a week. Last week, shortened by the Bank Holiday, brought an increase of 50 new names. Let the Fellows make good use of the cards that are in their hands during the holidays, and come back to the workaday world with tokens of their harvest in the form of many new signatures.

The Functions of the Fellowship

The need of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship is brought home by such an occurrence as the interview last Friday between Mr. Asquith and the deputation from the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. That interview was exceedingly valuable to the Suffrage Movement in many ways. It gave Mrs. Fawcett and others the opportunity of a straight talk with the Prime Minister. Such of the speeches of the deputation as were reported in the Press, and Mr. Asquith's speech, which was reported verbatim, were scanned with care by all the politicians in the United Kingdom. Publicity for the Movement and public interest were secured all over the world.

So far, so good. It is just at the next point that the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellows come in. The Prime Minister's speech was carefully prepared with the intention of side-tracking Suffragists if possible, and of throwing dust in the eyes of the public. He talked through his hat. But the man in the street and the woman in the home, who are not adepts in the manner of political manœuvring, are inclined to accept his words at their face value, without independent examination. It is therefore necessary for the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN and all the writers, readers and Fellows to combine all their faculties and powers for the purpose of exposing the fallacies of Mr. Asquith's speech, and spreading abroad in the minds of the public the truth with regard to the situation. We have done our part. We call upon the Fellows to do theirs. In the first place, let them send the leading article of this week's paper *marked* to all their political friends, whether Liberal or Conservative, and to all people of importance in their own locality. Secondly, let them talk, drawing their friends on to discuss this speech of the Prime Minister's and then putting to them point blank the question, *Who are the people?* Let them take the opportunity of explaining the immense demand that the people of this country have already made—a demand far greater than has ever been made in the past for any reform not definitely placed upon the political programme of either of the two great parties. Every Fellow is a sapper's miner if not an actual fighter. It is only by such work as that carried out by the Fellows that the country will be able to yield enlightened support at every stage of the campaign. Be always talking about the Movement, in season and out of season, and—whether you possess the gift of speech or not, and especially if you do not—fall back on VOTES FOR WOMEN and supplement what you have to say about this great question.

Finally—

Read the paper, circulate the paper, sell the paper. Because the paper spreads the light, and more light is all that is needed to win the world to our cause.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To Aug. 8, 1913)

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Subscriptions already acknowledged	817	9	11
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THE INCOME TAX OF MARRIED WOMEN

A debate on the law relating to the income tax of married women took place in the House of Commons during the Committee stage of the Finance Bill, last Monday. Mr. Cassel brought forward an amendment to relieve a husband of the liability to imprisonment if he failed to pay the tax on his wife's income. The Attorney-General expressed himself unable to accept the amendment, and called attention to a long and intricate clause on the same subject, standing under the name of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. This clause, however, was ruled out of order, and Mr. Lloyd George refused to regularise it on the ground that time would not permit of this being done. Some righteously angry protests were made by Mr. Philip Snowden and Lord Robert Cecil at this failure of the Government to redress a grievance they admitted to be unjust; and finally Mr. Cassell's amendment was negatived. We print below a letter from Miss Amy Hicks, writer of the article on this subject which appeared in Votes for Women on April 11, 1913.

THE DEBATE

On Clause 2 (Income-tax) of the Finance Bill,

Mr. Cassel moved to add the following amendment:—

"Provided always that no husband shall be committed to prison, nor shall any distress be levied upon his goods, nor shall any other proceedings for any penalty, fine, or otherwise, howsoever, be brought against him for failure to pay the income-tax to which he has been assessed in respect of the joint incomes of his wife and himself if he has paid or is ready and willing to pay such part (if any) of the whole tax as is fairly attributable to his own income."

This amendment, he explained, was designed to meet one of the most glaring anomalies in the income-tax law. When the income-tax was first introduced the wife's income was really the husband's, and it was under his control; but after the passing of the Married Women's Property Act the position was altered. The income-tax law had never been brought up to date. It was unreasonable to say a husband should pay income-tax on his wife's income if he had no control at all over her income. Mr. Wilks, who was imprisoned last autumn and was only released this year a few days before Parliament reassembled, was a teacher in a London County Council school earning £150 a year. His wife was earning some income as a doctor. The income-tax authorities assessed the wife at £700, and called upon Mr. Wilks out of his £150 a year to pay £33 tax on his wife's income. The authorities levied on the wife's goods and found they had no legal authority to do that. Then Mr. Wilks was put into prison. Married women, although their money was taken, were treated by the income-tax law as having no legal existence. Miss Lena Ashwell showed the absurdity of that. Miss Lena Ashwell was manager of the Kingsway Theatre. Her husband had nothing to do with the theatre and did not go to it. The income-tax demand was sent addressed to the husband, and then, in brackets, "For wife." Surely the time had come to put an end to the absurdities of the present law.

The Attorney-General (Sir Rufus Isaacs) admitted the anomaly of the position, but said the Government could not accept the amendment because it would leave the law in a ridiculous position. There would be no means of levying the income-tax at all. Although the husband would not be the person liable to pay the income-tax the amendment did not make the wife liable.

Mr. Cassel said it would not have been in order for a private member of the House to impose taxation upon anyone; he left that for the Government to do.

The Attorney-General said the Government had put down on the notice paper an amendment dealing with the income-tax of married persons, but this was a very complicated subject. In the long clause of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had given notice the intention was fully expressed and would be thoroughly explained should the clause come under discussion.

"Absolutely No Excuse"

Mr. Austen Chamberlain was anxious that their legislative action should follow the movement of public opinion in such a case of injustice as that in which Mr. Wilks suffered. A remedy for such a grievance should be provided at once. There was a doubt if the Government amendment was in order under the Rules of Procedure, but if a resolution of the House was required to enable the Committee to proceed with it, then the Government should put themselves in order by giving notice of such a resolution; there was absolutely no excuse for them if a resolution was required, for they had had the whole of the Session to make up their minds.

Sir F. Banbury said the difficulty was that they did not know if the Government amendment was in order or not.

The Chairman removed the doubt by explaining that it would not be in order, not being covered by the resolution of the House.

Sir F. Banbury said they ought to have the presence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. All that was necessary was to give notice of a resolution and it would still be possible to take the third reading of the Bill on Thursday. The time was short, but that was the fault of the Government; they should have taken the Bill earlier. Would they give an undertaking to bring the Finance Bill in earlier next Session and include in it the substance of the amendment?

The Attorney-General said the Government had had every intention to proceed with their amendment. They agreed that the law required amendment and thought that, whether they were in order or not, it would be an advantage to have their proposals on the notice paper. In the short time now at disposal it would not be possible to pass a resolution. But they had formulated their views and the most convenient course would be to deal with this and other taxation reforms in the Revenue Bill which he would undertake to say would be introduced early next Session.

"Not Creditable to the Government"

Mr. Austen Chamberlain said it was not creditable to the Government not to deal with the matter in the present Bill. The House might see the Bill early next Session, but when would it be discussed? Perhaps at the end of the Session, when they would be told they must take it or leave it without amendment. The matter should be dealt with before the House rose, or what would the Government do if another Wilks case arose? Would they put a man into prison again in like circumstances?

"Jam To-morrow"

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had entered the House while the discussion was in progress, said it was impossible to deal with grievances in this Bill without altering the whole arrangements for winding up the Session. But he promised that this should be done either in the Revenue bill or the Finance Bill of next year—he rather thought the Finance Bill, though he was not quite sure.

Lord R. Cecil said it was very unfortunate that for the second time a question in which women were deeply interested suddenly became impossible to be dealt with owing to difficulties in the rules of order. He hoped something very definite would be arranged so that the matter would be dealt with in the early months of next Session.

Was the Ruling Anticipated?

Mr. Snowden thought it was evident from the statement of the Attorney-General that he anticipated the ruling which the Chairman had since given. The whole circumstances were very discreditable. He urged that the Government should give a pledge that in the meantime there would be no repetition of prosecutions like that of Mr. Wilks.

Mr. Cassel expressed his readiness to withdraw his amendment provided he got an assurance that in which ever Bill the matter was dealt with, all the forces of the Government would be used to carry the Bill into law.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the course of further conversation, declined to pin the Government down to dates, nor could he give such an undertaking as that asked for by his hon. friend the member for Blackburn. It was easy to point out the grievance, but it was the most difficult thing in the world to find a remedy. If the amendment were accepted the Treasury would be unfairly depleted of a million and a quarter. He could not go beyond the statement he was authorised to make that the Revenue Bill would be introduced and pressed forward early in the Session, and that it was the intention to get the matter dealt with early in the Session. If this could be done in the Revenue Bill it would be done early in the Session; if, however, it must be done in the Finance Bill he could not undertake that it would be dealt with equally early, it being obviously impossible that both Bills could be dealt with early in the Session.

Lord Robert Cecil then proposed as an amendment to Mr. Cassel's amendment to insert the words to provide that no prosecution should take place in respect of failure to pay the tax on or after June 1 of next year.

Lord Robert Cecil's amendment to the amendment was defeated by 194 votes to 88, and the amendment was then negatived without a division.

Later in the debate **Mr. Rawlinson** moved an amendment to provide that for the purposes of abatement or exemption from tax the incomes of husband and wife should be treated as separate.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that first of all such an alteration would cost too much, but it would also work unfairly. If a husband and wife together had an income which placed them above the ordinary limit at which abatement was allowed, he did not think it was fair they should escape tax. It would mean that a husband and wife with £500 a year each, or £1,000 a year together, would be able to claim abatement, while a man with £700 a year, perhaps with a larger family, whose wife had no income, could claim no abatement at all. He did not think that was fair. He was prepared to defend the system which had always been adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on its merits.

The amendment was thrown out by 123 votes.

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—The treatment by the Government of the question of married women's Income Tax affords another example of its tortuous methods in dealing with women's questions.

On June 10 the Chancellor of the Exchequer received a deputation of women who put before him the grievances suffered by married women from the antiquated state of the present law. He admitted in reply that this was a "legal humiliation," and that we were "certainly entitled to protest against it." What followed? The question was deliberately hung up till the last week of the session—Monday, August 11—when Mr. Felix Cassell raised the matter on the Committee Stage of the Finance Bill, which was the first opportunity that had been given for doing so. The Chancellor then introduced an "amendment" to the Bill which was duly ruled "out of order" by the Chairman of Committee (we are becoming rather too familiar with the method of using the Speaker's ruling to avoid the fulfilment of pledges!). This "made it impossible," in the words of Mr. Lloyd George, "to deal with the matter without altering the whole arrangements for winding up the session," and it is again held over till next year. The Liberal members accepted what Mr. Snowden truly described as a "scandalous position" without a word of protest.

The Government proposal, of which we shall probably hear more next year, is that the incomes of husband and wife shall still be assessed as one, and that each partner shall be responsible for the tax on his or her own proportion of this joint income. While this is an improvement on the present state of things, in that it recognises the separate existence of a married woman, it cannot be regarded as a satisfactory solution. In the first place, it retains the special tax on marriage of £1,250,000 a year, for which no justification whatever can be given. It is sheer robbery of married people as long as no similar tax is imposed on other joint households.

In the second place, the practical working out will be extremely difficult. When there is any question of abatement, the Inland Revenue Department, when assessing the proportion of tax due from each, must follow one of two courses: (1) It must either give the facts on which the assessment is based, and thus disclose to a third party (the husband or the wife) the income declared by the other (this will be assuming a power it has never yet possessed, and probably many husbands will not view the prospect with delight); or (2) It will make the assessment on information not possessed by the person who has to pay, and who thus has no means of checking the tax charged. This would be equally open to objection. The only amendment which would settle the matter in a satisfactory way is that moved by Mr. Rawlinson, to regard the incomes of husband and wife as *separate for all purposes*. The Chancellor will only involve himself in further difficulties by avoiding this straight issue.—Yours very truly,

A. M. Hicks.

Women's Tax Resistance League, 10, Talbot House, 98, St. Martin's Lane, W.C. August 12.

THE CASE OF DR. ELIZABETH WILKS

In the House of Commons last Monday, Mr. Snowden asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer if, on several occasions, claims for the payment of income-tax have been made upon Dr. Elizabeth Wilks, a married woman living with her husband; if distraints have been levied on her goods for the recovery of the taxes; if on one occasion the claim for the tax on her income was made on her husband, and if he was imprisoned for the non-payment of the same; if so, will he say by what legal authority the claims for the taxes were made upon Dr. Elizabeth Wilks and distraints made upon her property; and what reply does he intend to make to the claim lately submitted to him by her for the repayment of those sums exacted from her under these distraints?

Mr. Lloyd George: The answers to the first, second, and third parts of the question are in the affirmative. It has been ascertained that the claims for taxes which were made on Dr. Elizabeth Wilks, and the action taken under the authority of the District Commissioners of Taxes in connection therewith without protest at the time on the part of Dr. Wilks, should have been made on and taken against her husband, who was liable for tax on her income. No sum has been received by the revenue on account of Dr. Wilks' income which was not due, and it would not, therefore, appear that the last part of the question arises.

Mr. Snowden: Are we to understand from that reply that the distraints were illegal?

Mr. Lloyd George: No. What happened in this case was that before she allowed her husband to pay the taxes, and this year she has avoided them altogether.

THE DEPUTATION OF JULY 24

The deputation from the Cat and Mouse Conference of July 24, who insisted on entering the House of Commons, and three of whose members were arrested, has been recalled to the public mind by discussion in the House of Commons, both on August 7 and 12. On August 7, Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Home Secretary for the reasons which led to the unconditional release from prison of Lady Sybil Smith, after serving only four days of a fourteen days' sentence, and whether he was prepared to extend the same clemency to Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mr. George Lansbury, and others.

Mr. McKenna: I have already stated, in reply to a question by the Noble Lord the member for the Hitchin division, that the sentence passed on Lady Sybil Smith was reduced by the chief magistrate, while the case was still within his jurisdiction, to four days. She was released on the expiration of that sentence. There is no analogy between this case and the cases of the persons mentioned in the hon. member's question, whose sentences have not expired; but I should be glad if any of them would give me an assurance that he or she would in future abstain from all participation in criminal acts and incitements, to consider the question of reduction of sentence.

Mr. Keir Hardie: Was Lady Sybil Smith asked to give any sureties?

Mr. McKenna: No, sir. I am very sorry if I have not made it clear to the hon. member. Lady Sybil Smith's sentence had expired, but the sentences of the others have not expired.

August 12

On August 12, Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Home Secretary whether he was consulted by the Judge before he reduced the sentence on Lady Sybil Smith from fourteen to four days; what reasons were assigned by him for the change; and whether any communications, verbal or oral, passed between the Judge and the Home Office on the subject.

Mr. Ellis Griffith: No direct communication passed between the Home Office and the magistrate. As was explained to the hon. member last Thursday, the solicitor who appeared for the police represented to the magistrate with my right hon. friend's cognisance and approval that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Lady Sybil Smith, and Miss Evelyn Sharp were not militants habitually engaged in the use of criminal methods. The magistrate assigned this fact as his reason for reducing the sentence from fourteen days to four days.

Returning to the Charge

Later, on the same day, in the course of the debate on Home Office administration, Mr. Keir Hardie returned to the charge by asking the Home Secretary for some further explanation of the apparent favouritism shown to certain woman suffrage prisoners. Recently, he said, three persons were arrested for creating a disturbance in St. Stephen's Hall, and were sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment. Subsequently the magistrate re-opened the case and reduced the sentence to four days. One of the prisoners was Lady Sybil Smith, daughter of the Earl of Antrim. Was there any precedent for the Home Office intervening to invite a magistrate to reduce a sentence? The reason given for the intervention was that the women were not militants. He did not know who had supplied the Home Secretary with this information about her ladyship, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Evelyn Sharp, but three of them had been, and one still was, associated actively with the most militant section of the movement. They had proclaimed the hunger-strike after they were arrested, and he asked the Home Secretary whether the real reason for the reduction of the sentence was that he was not prepared to submit the daughter of an Earl either to being forcibly fed or released upon licence. This case, following on that of Lady Constance Lytton, gave reasonable ground for the suspicion that favouritism was shown to those who were able to bring pressure to bear on the Home Office.

The Home Secretary's Apologia

In reply, Mr. McKenna said that as to the question raised, it became known after the sentence was passed that these ladies were not now militants, and this fact was communicated, at his request, to the magistrate by Mr. Muskett, who acted as prosecutor. On that representation the sentence was reduced, reasonably and properly in his opinion. The case was treated as any other case would be treated, and no special representation was made on account of the prisoners. The magistrate had passed the sentence because he believed they had committed militant acts, and there was no doubt but at one time one or all of them had been militants, but they had abandoned militant action for a considerable period, and upon that ground the sentence was reduced.

(Want of space compels us to hold over some interesting communications on the police treatment of the deputation of July 24.)

A RIDDLE FOR MR. McKENNA

When is a militant not a militant?
When she has a title.

MILITANCY IN WHITEHALL

Another March on Downing Street

The continued refusal of the Government to deal with the Suffrage agitation otherwise than by methods of coercion was responsible last Sunday for a riot in Whitehall at the close of the Free Speech Defence Committee's demonstration, when a large portion of the crowd, consisting mainly of men, were led in the direction of Downing Street by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, and a fight with the police ensued, which resulted in the arrest of seven women and eight men, and the re-arrest of their leader under the Cat and Mouse Act.

The Demonstration

A great crowd filled Trafalgar Square when Mr. Wedgwood, M.P., opened the proceedings at four o'clock by stating that a resolution had been passed by the Free Speech Defence Committee, asking that no attempt should be made at the close of the meeting to march on Downing Street. He then proceeded to read letters from Archdeacon Escreet, the Bishop of Birmingham, and others, all in support of the meeting which had been convened to protest against the imprisonment of Mr. George Lansbury and to demand his unconditional release, "also to demand the withdrawal of the prosecutions of John Scurr, Mrs. Cohen, and others, and the repeal of the 550-years-old Act, under which all these prosecutions have been ordered."

The Workers' Support

Large numbers of working men and women poured into the Square to show their determination to back up the meeting in its demand for the release of George Lansbury. Dockers, glassblowers, gasworkers, tailors, binders, numbers of unskilled labourers of all kinds, came with their banners, prominent among which was a large white one, bearing the legend in black letters, "KILL THAT CAT!" Mr. Will Thorne and Mr. Dick Palmer took the chair at the East and West sides of the plinth, and numbers of well-known speakers took part in the demonstration, including Mrs. Despard, Mr. Harben, and Mr. Lansbury himself, who had a magnificent reception, which lasted some minutes. Mr. Lansbury's licence was sold for £105, and the following resolution was carried unanimously:—

"We protest against the imprisonment of George Lansbury, John Scurr, and Mrs. Cohen, under an Act 550 years old, and insist upon their immediate release. We protest against the imprisonment of any man or woman who has been convicted of no crime. We protest against magistrates having the power to send to prison persons who may express views of which they or the Government do not approve."

"Deeds, Not Words"

When the resolution had been put and carried from the Western platform, the crowd on the plinth suddenly parted, and, amid an outburst of applause, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst (whose arrival had been effected without the knowledge of the police, though her licence under the Cat and Mouse Act had expired the night before) came forward, a frail little figure of flame against the background of densely packed men and women. At the same time, militant tricolours, surmounted by scarlet caps of liberty, came into evidence, and a banner was displayed, bearing the words, "Deeds, not Words. It is sticks and stones from the East End, and not argument, that will win freedom for women. Come to Downing Street."

Miss Pankhurst said little more than this in the brief speech she made, her voice growing stronger as she went on; and then masses of the crowd suddenly surged towards Downing Street. In a few moments Whitehall was full, and the traffic was momentarily held up. An approach on the Prime Minister's house was impossible, for the police were drawn up in rows across Whitehall just below the Horse Guards; and for about five minutes the crowd swayed aimlessly about, for it had got ahead of its gallant little leader.

Then those who had reached the cordon of police, looking up towards Trafalgar Square, saw a wonderful picture. A stormy, sunlit sky, with the Nelson column shooting up straight and black against it; and down below thousands of white faces, massed together, all turned towards Whitehall. Then, gradually detaching itself from the throng behind and beyond, came a small procession of men and women, marching close together, grouped round a central figure whom none could see, but whose presence was indicated by the purple, white and green banner that flew above, flaunting its defiant cap of liberty.

"There She Is!"

"There she is!" shouted a hundred voices spontaneously; and the roadway was completely blocked once more by the people who poured into it and the police who tried to force them back. On and on came the little drab procession, with its splash of colour in the middle, till it reached the police barrier at the United Services Museum.

Then all became confusion as a hand-to-hand fight took place between the police-constables and the men who surrounded Miss Pankhurst. Those who were near enough to see reported that she had been dragged through the ranks of police, put into a taxi-cab, and taken off to Holloway Gaol. Her supporters went on fighting for an hour and more, in the course of which several windows in the Home Office and other Government buildings were broken, and men were badly knocked about by the police who arrested them. In one case at least a man was frog-marched in such a way that all his money fell out of his pockets. It was 8 o'clock before Whitehall and Trafalgar Square once more resumed their normal aspect.

The Arrests

The following men and women were arrested in the course of the struggle, and were brought up at Bow Street Police Court on Monday morning:—Miss Evelyn Billings, Miss Gwendoline Cooke, Miss Kathleen Jarvis, Miss Verity Oates, Miss Fontaine, Miss F. Graham, Miss Llewellyn; Mr. F. Rolfe, Mr. Spiller, Mr. Beckerstein, Mr. William Mossoll, Mr. William Mills, Mr. Henry Phillips, Mr. J. Williamson, and Mr. William Robertson.

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, August 7.—At Manchester, before the Stipendiary Magistrate, charged with damaging a railway carriage, Mr. and Mrs. Baines and their son, and Miss Wallwork; Miss Wallwork discharged. Case adjourned.

Friday, August 8.—At Manchester City Police Court, Mr. and Mrs. Baines and their son committed for trial; bail granted to all; Mrs. Baines re-arrested on leaving the dock under Cat and Mouse Act for a former offence.

Saturday, August 9.—At the Bow Street Police Court, charged with breaking windows at the Colonial Office, Miss Mary Richardson; committed for trial.

Monday, August 11.—At Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Hopkins, charged with obstruction and assaulting a constable, Miss Evelyn Billings, fined 40s. or one month, fine not paid; charged with breaking windows in the Home Office, Miss Verity Oates and Miss Gwendoline Cook, discharged; charged with breaking windows in the Home Office, Miss Kathleen Jarvis, two months' hard labour; charged with obstruction, Miss Faith Fontaine, Miss Freda Graham, and Mr. Frank Rolfe, Mr. J. Bookstein, Mr. C. Spillers, Miss Mary Llewellyn, bound over; charged with obstruction and assault, Mr. Carl Hyam, Mr. H. Phillips, Mr. W. Mossop, Mr. W. Miller, Mr. Joseph Williamson and Mr. W. Robertson, fined 40s. each or one month.

MRS. PANKHURST

Although their licences of release under the Cat and Mouse Act had expired, both Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney spoke at the weekly meeting of the W.S.P.U. last Monday, and left without being re-arrested. Up to the time of going to press they were still at liberty. A feature of the meeting was the presence of large numbers of the delegates attending the International Medical Conference, who took the greatest interest in the proceedings. After short speeches of welcome in French and German had been made by Mrs. Mansel and Miss Leonora Tyson, Mrs. Pankhurst spoke on the woman's movement generally, and in relation to some of the discussions which had been taking place at the Medical Conference. She also declared amid applause that she thought her immunity from arrest was due to the presence in London of the International delegates; but she reminded them that other women less well known were still enduring the hunger-strike in prison.

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY

Up to the time of going to press, Mr. George Lansbury was still at liberty although his licence under the Cat and Mouse Act expired last Monday. He is, therefore, liable to re-arrest at any moment. In the course of his speech in Trafalgar Square last Sunday Mr. Lansbury said he would like to make the Government understand that his attitude was not one of sheer "cussedness," but was dictated by the fact that he believed the greatest thing which democracy should hold to was the right to freedom of expression. "I do not want Sir Edward Carson to stop doing his day's work. It is his business, but a Government that says to me and to Jack Scurr you must find sureties to be of good behaviour, and at the same time allows Sir Edward Carson, Bonar Law, F. E. Smith, and that crowd to go to Ulster and Blenheim to take steps to get officers in the British army to refuse to serve against Ulster, is not worth the respect of any decent man."

Universal Sympathy

Resolutions demanding Mr. Lansbury's unconditional release continue to be passed all over the country. Among the organisations who have made this demand are the Plymouth B.S.P., the Wednesbury I.L.P., the Newcastle B.S.P., the London Ladies' Tailors' and Machinists' and Pressers' Union, the Lewisham Branch N.U.R., the Rotherham Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union, and many others too numerous to mention.

MR. LANSBURY'S PETITION

In the House of Commons on August 12, Mr. Wedgwood said he desired to present a petition from Mr. George Lansbury, who said he had been bound over to keep the peace, and that for particular reasons affecting his own personal honour he did not feel at liberty to enter into recognisances, that he had been released, and that his re-arrest was now in the power of the police. The prayer was that he was suffering from a very urgent and continuing grievance for which he knew of no remedy, unless it be within the wisdom and authority of that House; and he humbly prayed the House to secure for him that immediate relief of which he was personally in need. The hon. member urged that the petition should be immediately discussed. Sir Erskine May had laid it down that a petition in the nature of a present personal grievance calling for immediate remedy might be discussed upon its presentation.

The Speaker having indicated that the hon. member could raise the question later on the second reading of the Appropriation Bill, the petition was accordingly read; and subsequently, when Home Office administration was under discussion, Mr. Wedgwood again brought the matter forward, saying he wished to plead for Mr. George Lansbury, who six months ago made a rash speech in the Albert Hall. Granted that Mr. Lansbury did say things which were a direct incitement to violence, still he was meted out extremely hard measure. He had paid the penalty, and ought now to have the humble petition which had been presented to the House on his behalf carefully considered, and a remedy found for the injustice from which he was at present suffering.

Sir A Markham said if Mr. Lansbury were released from the provisions of the "Cat and Mouse" Act, it would prove the measure to be beyond any doubt an absolute failure. The "Cat and Mouse" Bill had broken down, and it was necessary that something should be done to deal with the situation. If prisoners refused to eat, the responsibility was with them if they died. So long as they were released and allowed to break the law again, so long would the law be brought into contempt.

The Usual Reply

The Home Secretary, replying, said: Mr. Lansbury's case had been dealt with under the common law to prevent a breach of the peace, and he had not been treated in an exceptional manner. Mr. Lansbury was a man from whom he differed in opinion, but whom he held in high regard. He was brave, honest, and enthusiastic in the extreme, and he would accept his word with complete confidence. If Mr. Lansbury would declare he had no intention of breaking the law he would accept his assurance and would follow the course he had followed in other cases, advising the exercise of the prerogative of mercy.

ATTACK ON PRISON DOCTOR

As Dr. Pearson, medical officer for Holloway Prison, was on his way to the prison last Saturday morning, he was assailed by four women Suffragists. One of these said to him, "Are you the doctor who threatened to make Miss Richardson a mental and physical wreck?" Dr. Pearson is said to have replied in a hesitating manner, "Come inside." To this the women made no answer, and a struggle ensued, in which he was struck several times with a riding-crop. The police came to his assistance, as did also some ordinary prisoners who were just released. No arrests were made, and the Suffragists boarded a motor omnibus and got away.

What the Doctor Had Said

Miss Richardson, one of the Cat and Mouse prisoners, reports that while in Holloway, and after she had been hunger-striking some days, Dr. Pearson said to her, "It is coming to this—very stern measures will be adopted." She retorted, "You cannot do more than kill me," to which the doctor replied, "It is not a question of killing you. Next time, you will be kept here fourteen days. When you are a physical and mental wreck, then you will be sent to an institution where they look after mental wrecks."

The Usual Official Denial

In the House of Commons last Monday, Mr. Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will make inquiries into the allegation of Miss Mary Richardson that, while on hunger strike in Holloway, she was told by Dr. Pearson that next time she would be kept for fourteen days until she was a skeleton and a nervous and mental wreck, and then she would be sent to an institution where they look after mental wrecks; whether there is any truth in this allegation; and, if so, whether Dr. Pearson has any authority for making the statement, and does it indicate a change of policy in respect of the treatment of hunger strikers?

Mr. McKenna: No, sir, the statements quoted in the question are wholly inaccurate. Dr. Pearson did not tell Miss Richardson that she would be kept for fourteen days, or threaten her in any way, but he did seriously warn her of the mischief she might do herself, physically and mentally, by refusing food, and this warning was the more necessary as the prisoner appeared to be under the impression that a period of starvation in prison would be beneficial as a rest to her brain. It is perfectly right that any doctor, if a patient under his charge is refusing to take food, should warn her of the injury she is inflicting on herself.

Mr. Wedgwood: There has been no new departure at all?

Mr. McKenna: None at all.

Mr. Wedgwood: My right hon. friend is aware that Miss Richardson has sworn an affidavit?

Mr. McKenna: Yes. I am afraid it is a case of conflict of evidence.

Other Questions

In the House of Commons, in reply to questions on Wednesday, Mr. McKenna said: The question of whether a prisoner (Cat and Mouse) is to be released or not is left to the decision of the Home Secretary. I have received medical reports in all cases. In some cases I allow discretionary powers to the doctors as to the time of discharge.

He further stated: The pay of medical officers, in common with that of all other whole-time officers throughout the prison service, has lately been improved, but it has had no connection with the Suffragette prisoners.

THE HUSHING-UP OF JUSTICE

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

The following questions were asked in the House of Commons on August 7, with reference to the scandalous hushing-up of the Piccadilly Flat case, to which we first drew attention in our leader of July 18:—

Mr. King: I beg to ask the Home Secretary a question, of which I have given him private notice, whether, in view of the allegations in the Press, there is any ground for the statement that the name of any member of the Cabinet or of the Government appears in any book, diary, letters, or documents found by the police in the Piccadilly flat recently occupied by Queenie Gerald?

Mr. McKenna: In view of the allegations made in the Press, I read through very carefully this morning all the documents, including the diary, ledger, letters, and other documents furnished me by the police, which were found in the flat recently occupied by Queenie Gerald, and I am happy to assure the hon. member that in the whole of those documents, from beginning to end, I did not find the name of any single member of the Government or the Cabinet.

Mr. King: Can the right hon. gentleman say the same of the House of Commons?

Mr. McKenna: Yes, sir, I can say the same of every member of the House of Commons, except, that I must make this qualification, that in the list of names of business houses, as I read them to be, having nothing to do with the business carried on by this woman, there appears one name of a member of this House on business grounds—I do not mean the business carried on by Queenie Gerald. This woman appears to have had investments on the Stock Exchange, and in the course of making those investments, she appears—it is impossible to say whether it is precisely so or not—to have got a list of names of brokers and other persons, and amongst those names there does appear the name of a member of the House of Commons. With that qualification, I am happy to say that the name of no member of the House of Commons on any side of the House appears in any of those documents.

August 12

On August 12, during the discussion on Home Office administration, Mr. Keir Hardie again raised the question of the Piccadilly flat case. He asked why names had been suppressed, and whether it was intended to proceed against the woman as a procuress, since prosecuting counsel had stated that there was evidence in the hands of the authorities that she had carried on that trade. The explanation he put on the fact that this charge was not included in the indictment was that it would have necessitated the disclosure of the men's names which had been concealed. A huge conspiracy was afoot to defeat the ends of justice. Two courses were open to the Home Office (1) to publish all the papers on the question; (2) to institute proceedings against Queenie Gerald as a procuress.

Lord Robert Cecil said if there were any evidence upon which the woman could be tried for procuration, and she was not so tried, it would be a grave scandal. He hoped the Home Secretary would submit the question to the consideration of his legal advisers.

Mr. J. Ward said a clean breast should be made of the whole facts in regard to the Queenie Gerald case.

The Home Secretary's Reply

Mr. McKenna in reply said that neither himself nor any one connected with the Home Office, nor the police, made any representations to the magistrate in the police-court or the Deputy-Chairman of Quarter Sessions asking in any way that there should be secrecy with regard to what was known as the Piccadilly flat case. All the evidence went to show that this woman did not act as a procuress, although persons might have believed she did, and paid her money in that belief. At no stage was any evidence suppressed. The case was taken into court by the police under his instructions, and they were anxious to press the charge to the full. No Government Department had the slightest responsibility for the sentence. It was said there was a desire not to disclose names. Except in one case there was no name signed to any one of the letters. There were names in a diary and a ledger kept by the woman. In the ledger were hundreds of entries of sums of money paid, and to some a name was attached, but it was in the handwriting of the woman, but whether it was the name of the person it purported to represent it was impossible to say.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge

President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman

In spite of the holiday season we are still holding our usual splendid meetings in Hyde Park at noon on Sundays. On August 3 the audience was enormous and attentive, consisting chiefly of men who were so obviously friendly as to be almost impatient when they heard any "Anti" questions addressed to the speakers at the end. It is hoped we may find enough speakers in London during August and September to continue these meetings, and any N.C.S. members who can manage it are urged to go to Hyde Park at noon, Sunday, the 17th.

If anyone has opportunities for giving leaflets to those who would be likely to read them, will they please write to Mrs. F. Kerr, 27, Hereford Square, Kensington, mentioning the sort of leaflet they prefer?

Members spending their holidays away from towns and unable to sell Votes are asked to write at least two letters every week to personal friends drawing their attention either to some specially marked article in a suffrage paper, or enclosing some pamphlet likely to rouse their interest. An appeal from those one knows carries immense weight, and new members might easily be secured by this means.

Members will already have noted elsewhere that when our President took out a summons against a policeman for his unwarrantable behaviour to her as a member of a constitutional deputation, the brutality of the police, both to her and to others, was never denied. What was denied was the presence of one particular man, although a large number of ladies of unimpeachable veracity swore to the number on his collar. We are expected to believe that every one of these independent witnesses were all labouring under a delusion—a delusion which, oddly enough, caused them all to see and note precisely the same number! Verily these be strange times we live in.

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SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY.

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Voters' Association,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.
48, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, St. James' Street, S.W.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance,
7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage.
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.

Man's Federation for Women's Suffrage,
34 and 35, Ludgate Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Man's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Man's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.

Munster Women's Franchise League,
83, Grand Parade, Cork.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League,
Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

People's Suffrage Federation
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage,
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.

Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier,
Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Studio: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club,
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

Votes for Women Fellowship,
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society,
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League.
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed in the Press to Suffragists during the week:—

Wednesday, August 6.—Letters damaged in pillar-box in Fulham Road.

Thursday, August 7.—Cricket pavilion at Abergavenny completely destroyed by fire.

Friday, August 8.—Window broken at Colonial Office by Cat and Mouse prisoner; arrested.

Saturday, August 9.—Attempt to burn Higher Grade Schools, Sutton-in-Ashfield.

Two windows broken in the house of Dr. Pearson, Hilmarton Road, N.

A WRITERS' CLUB FOR WORKING WOMEN

A writers' club has been formed for working women who are anxious to help the movement towards social reform, from the Socialist point of view especially, by writing of the stern facts of life out of their own personal experience. It is called the Bebel House Rebel Pen Club, and is connected with the Working Women's College at Bebel House, Lexham Gardens, S.W. The director of the new club is Miss Ethel Carnie, known as the author of "Songs of a Factory Girl," and she is anxious that working women ready to help social reform in this way should communicate with her at Bebel House.

With acknowledgments to the "Daily Mirror." [*Photo: C.N.*

MR. LLOYD GEORGE WALKING THE PLANK

GUARDED CABINET MINISTERS

Home Secretary Disguised as an Earl

At the Welsh National Eisteddfod at Abergavenny last week Mr. McKenna and the Earl of Plymouth changed places—on account of the Home Secretary's dread of Suffragists. Mr. McKenna, it was announced, would preside in the afternoon, and the Earl in the morning, instead of which those present at the morning session were "rewarded" by the appearance of a decidedly nervous Home Secretary, who, as soon as his duties were completed, left abruptly with his wife.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer

On Saturday last Mr. Lloyd George addressed a large open-air meeting of the Nottinghamshire Miners' Association at Sutton-in-Ashfield. Rumour was rife as to "militant" plans, and the greatest precautions were taken to guard the Chancellor from interruption. A large force of the county constabulary was brought into the village, and the meeting-place was encircled with a high fence of barbed wire, over which Mr. Lloyd George and his bodyguard of detectives had to walk by means of a special bridge. Nevertheless the Suffragists were there, and bravely reminded the Chancellor of votes for women. Two women were ejected; not too gently.

Mr. John Burns

Mr. John Burns, in his speech to the Medical Congress, at the Albert Hall on Tuesday, was also interrupted by Suffragists some half-dozen times. One of the interruptions was in French.

SUFFRAGISTS IN THE ABBEY

During the morning service in Westminster Abbey last Sunday an interruption occurred of a similar kind to that in St. Paul's on the preceding Sunday. When the Dean of Westminster, Bishop Ryle, had read the Commandment, "Thou shalt do no murder," between twenty and thirty women stood up in the north transept and chanted in unison:—

"Oh Lord, save Emmeline Pankhurst; her enemies torture her for they know her cause is righteous.

"Save all those who are persecuted and suffer for conscience' sake; save them, O Lord, and hear when we call upon Thee."

Vergers and sidesmen hurried up and turned the Suffragists out, as they did also a second group of women who chanted the same words later. We are informed that these demonstrations are not organised by the Spiritual Militancy League, as we announced last week.

SUFFRAGISTS UNDER THE CAT AND MOUSE ACT

Name.	Sentenced.		Released.		Re-arrested.
Miss Stevenson	March 5	.....	May 13	.....	Aug. 8
Mr. Franklin	" 8	.....	" 28	.....	Missing
Mrs. Pankhurst.....	April 3	.....	(1) April 12	.....	May 26
			(2) May 30	.....	June 14
			(3) June 16	.....	July 21
			(4) July 24	.....	—
Miss Brady	April 5	.....	April 12	.....	Missing
Miss Dean	"	.....	"	.....	"
*Miss Annie Bell	April 22	.....	(1) April 29	.....	May 18
			(2) May 22	.....	July 15
			(3) Aug. 2	.....	—
*Mrs. Baines	May 5	.....	(1) May 12	.....	July 10
			(2) July 20	.....	Aug. 8
			(3) Aug. 11	.....	—
Miss Thomson (Scotch) ..	May 19	.....	May 23	.....	Missing
Miss A. Scott " ..	"	.....	(1) May 24	.....	June 12
			(2) June 16	.....	Missing
Miss Hudson " ..	"	.....	May 25	.....	"
Mrs. Palmer (Irish)	May 26	.....	June 18	.....	—
Mrs. Ryan "	"	.....	"	.....	—
Miss Walsh "	"	.....	"	.....	—
Miss Kenney	June 17	.....	(1) June 21	.....	July 2
			(2) July 5	.....	July 14
			(3) July 18	.....	July 28
			(4) Aug. 1	.....	—
Miss Kerr	"	.....	June 25	.....	—
Mrs. Sanders	"	.....	(1) June 23	.....	July 9
			(2) July 11	.....	—
Miss Barrett	"	.....	(1) June 21	.....	July 2
			(2) July 5	.....	July 17
			(3) July 21	.....	—
Miss Lake	"	.....	June 21	.....	July 2
Miss Lennox	"	.....	(1) June 21	.....	June 29
			(2) July 3	.....	—
Mr. Clayton	"	.....	June 23	.....	Missing
Mrs. Shaw	June 21	.....	June 27	.....	"
*Miss Marion	July 3	.....	(1) July 8	.....	July 12
			(2) July 17	.....	—
Miss Giveen	"	.....	July 10	.....	Missing
Miss Sylvia Pankhurst....	July 8	.....	(1) July 12	.....	July 27
			(2) Aug. 1	.....	Aug. 10
Miss Lenton	Com. for trial, June 9..		June 17	.....	Missing
*Miss Mary Richardson ..	July 8	.....	(1) June 12	.....	July 17
			(2) July 23	.....	July 29
			(3) Aug. 3	.....	Aug. 10
			(4) Aug. 12	.....	—
†Mrs. Mackworth	July 11	.....	July 16	.....	—
Mrs. Wyan	July 15	.....	(1) July 18	.....	July 24
			(2) July 29	.....	—
Mr. Robson Paige.....	July 15	.....	(1) July 20	.....	Aug. 1
			(2) Aug. 6	.....	—
Mrs. Rigby	Remanded July 10 ..... Sentenced July 30		(1) July 16	.....	July 17
			(2) July 22	.....	July 29
			(3) Aug. 7	.....	—
Miss Kathleen Nicholson..	July 22	.....	July 26	.....	Missing
Miss Florence Ward	"	.....	July 29	.....	Missing
Miss Nellie Hall	"	.....	"	.....	—
Miss Louisa Shepherd....	"	.....	"	.....	Missing
"Eliza"	"	.....	"	.....	"
Miss Mary Gray	"	.....	July 28	.....	"
Mr. Harry Johnson	July 23	.....	July 27	.....	"
Mrs. Chalmers Smith	On remand	.....	July 29	.....	—
*Miss Kathleen Jarvis....	July 29	.....	Aug. 2	.....	Aug. 10
Miss Dulcie West	"	.....	Aug. 4	.....	—
Mr. George Lansbury....	July 30	.....	Aug. 2	.....	—
Miss Ansell	Aug. 2	.....	Aug. 6	.....	—

* Arrested on another charge. † Fine paid anonymously.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single insertion, 24 words or less 2s. 1d. per word for every additional word

(Four insertions for the price of three.)

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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8.—To contribute to the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship Fund, for various purposes of development, including the display of posters.
9.—To extend by other methods of service the influence of the Fellowship and the circulation of the paper.

Objects.—To dispel the ignorance that exists in the mind of the public with regard to the "Votes for Women" agitation.

To tell the true story of the Movement, both in its constitutional and militant development, and also to show the causes that have produced and are still fomenting the present revolt.

To educate and arouse opinion throughout the country, and rally sympathy and support to the fighters in this campaign for human liberty; to stimulate strenuous opposition to the Government's policy of futile and wicked coercion, and to persuade all who love justice and liberty to bring pressure upon the King's ministers to carry out the spirit of the British Constitution, and to concede the just and reasonable demand of women to be included in the body politic.

Methods.—Active co-operation, by one or all of the various forms of service enumerated on the opposite page, with the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN, so that in fellowship of spirit and unity of purpose the common aim as stated above may be achieved.

The "Votes for Women" Fellowship is not a Suffrage Society, but an association of friends who desire to work together for the accomplishment of a very distinct and definite purpose. It does not compete in any way with any Suffrage organization. Membership is open to men and women who belong to any of the Suffrage societies, both militant and non-militant, and also to men and women who are not hitherto connected with the Suffrage movement or committed to any Suffrage party or policy. Commencing in 1914, there will be a minimum entrance fee of 1s., and also a minimum annual subscription of 1s., due in January of each year.

Just as the Fellowship itself does not compete with any existing organization, so VOTES FOR WOMEN does not compete with any existing Suffrage paper. It serves a different though complementary purpose. As a paper independent of all Suffrage societies, it addresses itself to the outside public, presents a catholic view of the Woman's Movement, and appeals to every class and section of the community. Its wide circulation must result in more recruits for the various battalions of the Suffrage army and a greater demand of the official publications of the great militant and non-militant Unions.

The Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN give their services to the paper without remuneration of any kind. That service is their contribution to the Suffrage Movement as a whole. They are pledged to devote any financial profits that may accrue to the further development of the paper.

Please enrol me as a member of the "Votes for Women" Fellowship.

Name.....

(Please state whether Mrs., Miss, or Esq., etc.)

Full Address.....

.....

*** The above, in the form of a six-page card, will be sent to any reader of "Votes for Women" on application to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.**

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